

# IN THESE TIMES

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in the

# heartland

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Former NOW leader Eleanor Smeal is challenging the current leadership. The battle will be bitter.

By Joan Walsh

## NOW what?

Like many groups that hitched their wagons to the Mondale-Ferraro campaign last year, the National Organization for Women (NOW) has found itself in a political cul du sac, with no new national campaign to turn it around. And a leadership challenge to President Judy Goldsmith by former NOW leader Eleanor Smeal promises even rougher terrain ahead for the 250,000-member feminist organization. The terms of the battle are not yet clear; the only certainty is that it will be bitter.

Smeal's six-year tenure saw NOW grow enormously in size and stature, mostly around its well-organized, high-profile but ultimately unsuccessful ERA ratification campaign. To much of the public, NOW was Ellie Smeal; and to many insiders, vice versa. When the organization's by-laws forced Smeal's retirement after two terms, there was even talk of a rules change to allow the charismatic leader another term, if only to shepherd the ERA through its final rounds—or, as it turned out, to pasture. The extra-term idea was dropped and Smeal, after some uncertainty, threw her weight behind Goldsmith, who was elected after a bitter race in June 1982.

If the two women shared many political goals, they could not be more different in style. Goldsmith's calm, soft-spoken presence forces reporters to mention her schoolteacher background, in contrast with the fiery Smeal, who likes her Pennsylvania housewife roots to be remembered. All the succession-trauma clichés come to mind—Smeal left large shoes to fill, was a hard act to follow, couldn't let go of the reins—and all capture some of the truth. In the windup, where once people considered Goldsmith little more than a mouthpiece for her formidable predecessor, the two became increasingly distant.

At its most benign, Smeal's role in NOW became that of an elder stateswoman, contributing strategy and riling the troops at conferences and ERA meetings with her inspirational oratory—which Goldsmith, it must be noted, could never match. But as relations between Smeal and current NOW leadership grew strained, she became like a government in exile. The most public conflict came at last summer's NOW conference, just weeks before the Democratic convention, when Smeal drafted and got passed a resolution strengthening NOW's demand for a woman vice president. The measure seemed to be threatening a floor revolt if Mondale picked a male running mate. But Goldsmith softened the vote's intent when questioned by the media. Her conciliatory response was perceived as selling out the tough statement she'd asked Smeal to draft.

The leadership battle, to be decided at July's conference, promises to be a bitter bloodfeud. In hindsight it looks inevitable, especially once Smeal decided not to return to Pennsylvania to prepare for a congressional bid, as had long been rumored. Instead she remained in Washington to publish *The Eleanor Smeal Report*, her bi-monthly feminist political analysis and commentary. She also put together an election-year PAC, the Gender Gap Action Campaign, which seemed an implicit criticism of what established women's groups—i.e. NOW—were doing. (In retort, NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus were less than fully behind the campaign, refusing to lend their mailing lists to the effort.)

What does the split mean? No one wants to talk about it yet, but a little speculation is possible. Smeal's best case against Goldsmith is

that the organization has not come up with a national crusade that gives it the visibility—or the membership and fundraising base—of the ERA campaign. Of course, the Mondale-Ferraro effort consumed the group's best political energy—but Smeal is as implicated in NOW's unfortunate presidential focus as anyone. One can't help but be squeamish at the prospect of such painful political bloodletting, but the Pollyanna-ish view is that the battle may force the group's factions to think about reaching more women, if only for opportunism's sake.

## Choice campaign

Lately the abortion rights movement has come full circle. In the beginning, choice advocates appealed for liberalized abortion laws by recounting the tragedies of women forced to seek illegal, back-alley abortions, trying to make that trauma real for mostly male legislators. When choice became law, its opponents worked on personalizing the fetus, and have succeeded to an amazing extent. So the choice movement, alarmed by their opponents' public relations success, is retaliating with a campaign to focus the debate on women once again.

Coordinated by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), choice groups around the country are collecting the personal stories of women who have chosen to have abortions. During the week beginning May 15, the coalition will sponsor forums in 33 cities and a letter-writing campaign nationwide for women to publicize the crises unplanned pregnancies have created for them. The following week women's groups will converge on Washington for public forums, press conferences and congressional lobbying with the same personal emphasis.

"I regret that women have to do this, because abortion is a very intimate, personal issue," says NARAL's Emily Tynes. Since *Roe v. Wade* made abortion legal, she notes, the pro-choice strategy has been to "de-emotionalize" the issue, to treat it as a legal and medical question. But the success of the anti-abortion forces in raising moral and emotional doubts about the 1.5 million abortions performed in the U.S. each year "means we have to show the personal, moral and emotional reasons that those 1.5 million women chose abortion, and what role the decision played in their lives."

NARAL seems to be in the midst of a thorough reassessment of its goals and methods. An invitation-only strategy weekend held in Washington, D.C., at the end of March drew together several dozen women's health and reproductive rights veterans to discuss the pro-choice movement's current theoretical and political crisis. So far the conclusions are confidential, Tynes said. But according to one participant the consensus seemed to be that NARAL and other choice groups had to move beyond a single-issue focus, to take on broader reproductive rights and even economic questions. The opposition's success has been in advancing just that kind of overarching anti-abortion worldview: the rightwingers want to keep sex within marriage and women at home dealing with its consequences; the religious pro-lifers advance an ethic of social responsibility that would make virtually all abortions unnecessary. The pro-choice movement needs the same kind of big ideas. "It's bigger than us," Tynes notes. "These are questions for the whole women's movement."

## New legislative package

One of the best organizations to come out of last year's gender gap activism was California's Women's Economic Agenda Project, which traced women's developing voting independence—correctly—to their new and increasingly disadvantaged economic status. This month a WEAP-organized coalition succeeded in getting a 24-bill women's legislative package introduced in the California legislature. Backed by

# THE STORY INSIDER

a coalition ranging from the Business and Professional Women to the Displaced Homemakers, the package has the backing of Lieutenant Gov. Leo McCarthy, Senate President David Roberti, Los Angeles Assembly members Tom Hayden and Gloria Molina, and even Republican state Sen. Milton Marks.

The package would increase state support for child care and employment training programs, establish a new Family Violence Program, set up a \$1 million loan fund for displaced homemakers and mandate up to one-year maternity leaves. Many of the bills were inspired by the Women's Economic Agenda, the document WEAP drafted after meeting with women's groups around the state last spring. WEAP uses the agenda as "an educational tool," says co-director Ethel Long-Scott, but many women's groups adopted its provisions as a legislative blueprint. Politicians have looked to it as a key to the "women's vote," which people still talk about in California, since the gender gap in last November's presidential race was an unusually wide 10 percent.

Not all of the bills in the package will pass, of course, and even those that do will likely have trouble making it past Gov. George Deukmejian's desk—last year Deukmejian vetoed several landmark women-and-family bills. But Long-Scott believes the package, which includes several Republican-sponsored bills, "represents a common denominator of what women need to improve their economic status." The balance between the interests of mothers, homemakers and working women, a hallmark of WEAP's organizing effort, makes the package "mainstream," Long-Scott says. And it is attracting lobbying help that past efforts by women's, minority and welfare rights groups couldn't achieve.



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## IN THESE TIMES



Veronika Kot

# Will we still be an immigrant nation?

By Veronika Kot

EL PASO, TEXAS

**T**HE ROYBAL IMMIGRATION BILL, the most recent development in the ongoing congressional debate over immigration, has revived discussion of an issue that faded from public attention late last year. At that time it appeared that the restrictive Simpson-Mazzoli bill had been shelved.

The new bill was introduced as a "liberal" alternative to Simpson-Mazzoli by Rep. Edward Roybal (D-CA), one of the Hispanic community's most important spokesmen against the earlier legislation. Ironically, it was attacked immediately by groups like the Hispanic Caucus and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), who contend that it was introduced without their approval or consultation. The demands of these Hispanic groups constitute a basic change in the terms of the immigration debate. They are challenging the assumption that underlies the call for restrictive legislation.

Both the Simpson-Mazzoli and Roybal bills propose to deal with an immigration problem perceived to be out of control. Both recommend a limited amnesty for illegal immigrants who have been in the U.S. for an extended period of time, and they also call for sanctions on employers who hire illegal workers.

The major difference between the proposals are Roybal's anti-discrimination safeguards. Opposition to Simpson-Mazzoli centers on the threat to the civil liberties of Mexican-Americans, who would be the focus of restrictive immigration. Mexican-American groups claim that under such restrictive legislation they would automatically become suspect because of their physical appearance. They charge that employer sanctions would open the way for employment discrimination and racist harassment

on the grounds of suspected illegal status.

In an apparent effort to alleviate these fears, the Roybal bill provides an opportunity for anti-discrimination suits in addition to suits against the employment of illegal workers. It also transfers the responsibility for legislation enforcement from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the government to groups and individuals. Thus the AFL-CIO, for years a supporter of restrictions on immigration, would be empowered to initiate its own law suits. Also, in theory at least, Mexican-Americans who considered themselves victims of discrimination could use the same channels to counter it.

In a memorandum issued by MALDEF, however, the Roybal anti-discrimination provisions are seen as mere appeasement measures. In practice they would not prevent discrimination. And by encouraging law suits from labor unions or individuals, they would likely promote division between the Hispanic community and the labor movement.

The Special Counsel proposed in the bill would handle both job displacement and discrimination complaints. But since the bill's priority is the enforcement of immigration legislation, discrimination suits would not be a top priority. The MALDEF memorandum also points out the danger of increased government surveillance resulting from proposed information sharing between the Social Security Administration and the Internal Revenue Service.

The bill's opponents claim that short of a militarized border, Mexican immigration cannot be stopped by police measures. The pressures of population, rural poverty and economic crisis are too strong. They also insist that while employer sanctions would not likely discourage illegal hiring, they provide employers with the risk-factor excuse to increase the exploitation of undocumented workers.

Hispanic leaders' main complaint about

the Roybal bill, however, is the legislation's adoption of employer sanctions. "The issue is no longer whether we should have sanctions," the MALDEF memo reads, "but rather, what kind of sanctions." That is precisely the assumption Hispanic leadership has been attempting to alter.

The tensions and complications surrounding the immigration debate are provoking charges of betrayal (such as the Roybal example) and forging strange alliances. The AFL-CIO and the Ku Klux Klan are both calling for restrictions while militant Chicanos and exploitative employers oppose them. These strange bedfellows eye each other with surprise and suspicion.

## Tensions at the border.

Nowhere are the tensions more evident than at the border itself. There, other problems combine with the immigration issue: drug traffic, Central American refugees, the increasing influence of the PAN (the Mexican right-wing party). In the wake of the kidnapping of a U.S. official in Guadalajara in February, the border was partly closed and automobile inspections at border crossings were stepped up. Mexicans resented that they had not been consulted about an issue that so immediately affected the economic and social life of the border region. U.S. Ambassador to Mexico John

## The El Paso Detention Facility holds up to 400 illegal immigrants.

Gavin defended the unilateral measures as solely a U.S. concern.

Hostility and interdependence are particularly evident in the sister cities of El Paso and Ciudad Juarez. In downtown El Paso, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans constitute the majority. The city, like much of the U.S. Southwest, suffers from a paranoid feeling of being "flooded," although only the law seems Anglo. Across the border in Ciudad Juarez residents know that at any moment their powerful neighbor can undertake unilateral restrictive measures crippling to the dependent border economy.

On the outskirts of El Paso, the El Paso Detention Facility looms like an ugly monument to these tensions. Complete with watchtower, barbed wire and barracks, it holds up to 400 illegal immigrants. Two-thirds of the detainees are non-Mexican, since most Mexicans are "voluntarily" returned within 24 hours. Only those who refuse to return voluntarily or who are awaiting court hearings for offenses—such as repeated entry or false papers—are held in the facility.

At the detention center, the situation of many Central Americans seems especially painful. As a weeping Honduran father is separated from his small children—only men are held at the facility—members of the staff comment that his family will almost certainly be deported.

Many Mexican detainees, who have lived for years in the U.S., are outraged by their deprivation of freedom. Some of them have resident alien wives and citizen children, and most insist they have paid their taxes regularly but have made no use of the social services those taxes help support. "Our only crime is working," said one detainee.

Many American officials and citizens disagree, however. Undocumented workers in times of high unemployment, they claim, compete for jobs with unskilled—often minority—citizens. While direct job competition is no longer believed to be significant, undocumented workers, by working for low pay, may depress wages to the point where citizens are no longer willing to take the jobs.

Continued on page 11





# INSHORT

Beth Maschinot

## Deadly questions

In Guatemala, it's called a "fair warning." Chief of state Gen. Mejia Victores told a national television audience March 14 that "to take steps toward the reappearance of the disappeared is a subversive act—and measures will be adopted to deal with it." He added that he would not tolerate further demonstrations of the Support Group for the Families of the Detained and Disappeared in Guatemala.

On March 30, Hector Orlando Gomez' tortured body was found on the side of a highway a few miles south of Guatemala City. Orlando Gomez was the support group's press liaison and had told other members of the group that he had been questioned by the Guatemalan Department of Investigations two days before he was killed. Five days after his death, the body of the group's secretary was found in her car at the bottom of a ravine nine miles south of the capital city. Guatemalan officials termed Maria Rosario Godye de Cuevas' death "an accident," but reports from Guatemala say that doctors found that she was asphyxiated. Godye de Cuevas helped form the group in 1984 after her husband—an outspoken student leader—was "disappeared."

Though Victores forbade further demonstrations, more than 1,000 protesters defied his order and marched on the national palace on April 13. Four U.S. religious and human rights leaders—including Rev. William Sloane Coffin of Riverside Church in New York City and Philip Berryman of the American Friends Service Committee—joined the protesters as they threw white carnations on the steps of the palace to remind the general of the 38,000 missing in Guatemala since 1954. The support group—which has grown from five to 500 families in less than a year—holds weekly Friday vigils in front of the Public Ministry to protest the lack of response to petitions about their relatives' whereabouts.

## Plenty of Regrets

Chilean ambassador Oscar Paredes probably respects Gen. Mejia Victores—after all, Victores doesn't play games when it comes to "national security." Paredes, the consulate general of Chile in New York City, stunned a U.S. delegation in his office on April 11 when he offered that Chile's "greatest mistake was not killing all the people we put in the stadium" a reference to the 1973 incarceration, torture and murder of thousands of Chileans in the national soccer stadium at the hands of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

The New York delegation—including 15 labor leaders—had come to demand that Gen. Pinochet soften his brutal tactics in Chile. They asked that he investigate the March 30 murders of two labor leaders and a human rights worker. They also called on him to put an end to the state of seige in Chile, release all political prisoners and give unions the right to organize and strike without fears of reprisal.

The delegation, though stunned by Paredes' remark, was not tongue-tied. Henry Foner, president of Local 1 of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers, told Paredes that "trade unionists far and wide will be repulsed by what was just said in this room." Foner added that unionists "will all work harder than ever to protect our brothers and sisters suffering under the Pinochet regime." Other endorsers of the long list of human rights demands included Victor Gotbaum from District 37 of AFSCME, Cleveland Robinson of District 65 of the UAW, Edgar Romney of Local 33-25 of the ILGWU and John Hudson of the ACTWU.

## The big one

According to some British press reports, Anglo-Irish relations are on the verge of an historic breakthrough. London's *Mail* and other papers announced that the two governments are presently considering a novel political structure that would incorporate the indentities of both the Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland. Politicians in Britain and Ireland immediately called the reports "imaginative speculation" and "wildly exaggerated." Irish sources noted that prospects for such an agreement seemed remote last November, after a summit between the two prime ministers.

But now there is a new incentive. Ronald Reagan reportedly promised Thatcher "massive U.S. financial aid" for Northern Ireland if she could attain a workable agreement with Ireland. Irish politicians hinted that Tip O'Neill, during his recent visit to Ireland, prodded them

with the same offer. High level ministers from the two countries have been holding what are described as "serious working sessions," and both Douglas Hurd, Thatcher's Northern Ireland secretary and Geoffrey Howe, the British foreign secretary, recently travelled to the U.S. for further talks with the American officials. The other incentive is psychological. Electoral strategists expect a strong showing for Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing in this May's Northern Ireland local election. The visible effort to secure an Anglo-Irish political solution is aimed at undercutting their strength among nationalist voters.

## The professor and the propagandists

It's amazing what a few troublemakers can do. At the University of California at Davis a small band of Students for a Better America (SBA) spent the winter quarter harassing Saul Landau, a visiting professor of Latin American History. Landau—who works for the left-wing think-tank Institute for Policy Studies—is usually well-received as an author and filmmaker of numerous books and films. But the Davis chapter of the SBA were not so warmly disposed: they labelled Landau a "propagandist for Cuba and red fascism" and compared him to Hitler's chief propagandist, Joseph

Goebbels. While SBA picketed Landau's classes and film showings, SBA's national director filed a formal complaint with the university. A state senator from southern California, H.L. Richardson, joined the anti-Landau bandwagon by calling for an investigation of U.C. Davis' hiring policies.

SBA was founded in 1982 with funds from large corporate donors, including the Coors Foundation. It shares the same Washington, D.C., building as the Heritage Foundation. It also shares two board members with the right-wing group—Burt Pines and Midge Decter. Like the Heritage Foundation, SB strives to be a "think tank" and has begun publishing a series of study briefs for college students. The first major report, released last spring, titled "CISPES: A Terrorist Propaganda Network," paints the solidarity group as a Cuban and Soviet-sponsored front for the Salvadoran guerrillas. The SBA used the report to lobby FBI Director William Webster to force CISPES to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

SBA's Director of Research J. Michael Waller wrote the CISPES report and also edits *The Freedom Fighter*, a new right-wing college newspaper. Readers who contribute \$20 or more to help the distribution of the paper are awarded a special gift—a brass bullet casing from the rifle of an FDN contra fighter. This week's contributors: Kevin Fitzsimmons, Tom Kiely, Sara Diamond.



Flowerpots on Federal Plaza



## UNIVERSITIES

# Columbia students demand divestiture

By David Corn

NEW YORK

IT WAS A CHILLY GRAY DAY. A DRIZ-  
dle hung in the air. And it was only  
a week before finals. On the morn-  
ing of April 15, the campus of Col-  
umbia University was quiet, with  
students ambling to and from classes. But  
in one corner of the campus, underneath a  
large green tarpaulin, about 100 students  
were huddled together, causing a stir.

They were not making much noise.  
Someone with a guitar was leading them  
in an old Phil Ochs song: "Oh I am just a  
student, sir, and I only want to learn...."  
Some sang along. Others read books for  
class, using yellow highlighters to mark the  
significant passages.

Eleven days before a group of Columbia  
students walked up the steps of Hamilton  
Hall, chained the doors shut and sat down.  
Their demand: Columbia must agree to di-  
vest itself within three years of \$34 million  
in investments in 27 companies doing busi-  
ness in South Africa. Since then the doors  
of Hamilton Hall have remained locked,  
and students have taken turns sleeping out-  
side the hall, which they have renamed  
"Mandela Hall," in honor of Nelson Man-  
dela, the imprisoned leader of the African  
National Congress in South Africa.

The 400-member Coalition for a Free  
South Africa, comprised of students, facul-  
ty, alumni and staff, has vowed it will con-  
tinue the blockade, started on the 17th an-  
niversary of the assassination of Martin  
Luther King Jr., until the university's trust-  
ees make a promise to divest.

Outside "Mandela Hall," the singer shifts  
into Woody Guthrie's "This Land Is Your  
Land," and the crowd follows. Banners and  
placards of support from other schools and  
organizations are hung all along the facade  
of the hall. A loud roar comes from a steam  
spray that maintenance workers are using  
to erase a piece of graffiti spray-painted  
onto the building: "Message from Madison,  
WI. We dun' it—so can you!" The message  
won't come off. The workers give up and  
leave in search of another device that can  
conquer the scrawl.

In the adjacent Hartley Hall—now dub-  
bed "Malcolm X Hall"—students have con-  
verted dormitory rooms into coalition of-  
fices. A computer spews out press releases  
and fact sheets. Outside, the crowd in front  
of Hamilton Hall is relaxed. Most have  
short hair. A few are wearing ties. Most  
are white. It is an orderly bunch, in sharp  
contrast to the students who made their  
stand at this same hall in 1968.

But like their predecessors, these stu-  
dents have won much media attention and  
have spurred campus activism at other  
schools. Students at Berkeley, Rutgers and  
Princeton, encouraged by the Columbia ac-  
tion, are pushing ahead with their own di-  
vestment campaigns. And on April 12 100  
students began a blockade of Rutgers' stu-  
dent center. On April 15 the coalition an-  
nounced that representatives from other  
schools would meet at Columbia to join  
forces.

This dramatic move, the taking of Hamil-  
ton Hall, members of the coalition's steer-  
ing committee maintain, came only after  
years of working within the university sys-  
tem brought little relief. "We have gone  
through every democratic avenue we  
could," said Whitney Tymas of the steering  
committee.

In 1978 the trustees issued a statement that  
declared the university's intention to divest  
based on "its concern for the liberties and  
equal employment opportunities of non-  
whites in South Africa." It even divested  
\$2.7 million from banks with South African

connections. But in 1983, when the univer-  
sity senate—made up of students and facul-  
ty—urged the trustees to develop a divest-  
ment plan for all its South African holdings,  
the trustees balked. The issue was handed  
over to an ad hoc committee, which even-  
tually recommended a series of measures  
that fell short of divestment.

Then on March 25 of this year, seven  
coalition members began a hunger strike.  
Ten days later, the coalition closed Hamil-

their action to the lunch-counter sit-in in  
Greensboro, N.C., in 1960.

After delivering a forceful speech that  
accused Columbia of engaging in  
"economic prostitution," Jackson met with  
Sovern. Following the meeting, Jackson  
announced that Sovern agreed to convene  
a meeting of the presidents of the Ivy  
League schools to discuss how these institu-  
tions can collectively contribute to ending  
apartheid.

This move did not satisfy coalition mem-  
bers, however. "To meet with other univer-  
sity presidents does not signify concrete ac-  
tion," said Anthony Glover, a steering com-  
mittee member. The coalition's demand,  
he added, stands.

The coalition, in its statements, notes  
that it does not doubt the university's op-  
position to apartheid. But it dismisses the  
arguments made by the administration  
against divestment.

Responding to the charge that divestment  
would increase black unemployment in

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of its total portfolio should not be seen as  
an obstacle to divestment. Until its sole  
demand is met, the coalition pledges to  
maintain its blockade, and the signs are that  
it can keep it going until graduation. Plans  
for the summer are now being drawn up.

Following Jackson's address, the crowd  
in front of Hamilton Hall thinned out to  
about 150. As night came, with the rain  
still falling, the protest went from the '60s  
to the '80s. Gone was the guitar-playing  
folk singer, replaced by a host of rap sing-  
ers, including the master rappers of Run  
DMC. Students were on their feet dancing.

When the music was over and the stu-  
dents began to settle in for the night, Ran-  
dolph Scott-McLaughlin, one of the coal-  
ition's attorneys, announced that Justice  
Wright had turned down a university re-  
quest to vacate his order prohibiting the  
school from taking "police action" against  
the students. A cheer went up. "Holding  
them at bay is a victory in itself," declared  
Scott-McLaughlin.



Demonstrators at Columbia's Hamilton Hall renamed it "Mandela Hall" in honor of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

ton Hall, which houses classrooms and  
some administrative offices, making access  
possible only through a tunnel. The fast  
ended on April 8, when President Michael  
Sovern met with the fasters. But the stu-  
dents camped out in front of Hamilton held  
their ground.

From the start, the university has tried  
to force the students back to their dorm  
rooms. It has threatened disciplinary ac-  
tion, including expulsion. On April 7, Eas-  
ter Sunday, the administration won a court  
order prohibiting the student action. The  
protest continued, and the university sought  
criminal contempt charges against 14 stu-  
dents.

Several days later, lawyers for the stu-  
dents won an order from New York Su-  
preme Court Justice Bruce Wright enjoin-  
ing the university from "taking any police  
action against the students." On both sides,  
the legal jockeying continued.

While the various courtroom battles  
waged on, expressions of support—mater-  
ial and morale—poured in from local com-  
munity groups, national organizations and  
such notables as Sen. Gary Hart (D-CO)  
and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Bishop De-  
smund Tutu. On April 7, Sovern, in a mes-  
sage to the students, suggested that Tutu  
supports the university holding stock in  
U.S. companies in South Africa that ban  
segregation and afford equal pay to blacks  
and whites. "Bishop Tutu proudly calls  
Columbia his university," Sovern's state-  
ment read. Five days later, Tutu sent a tele-  
gram to the students endorsing their action.

Encouragement has also come from the  
Rev. Jesse Jackson, who visited the bloc-  
kaders on April 15. About 1,500 students  
gathered in the rain to hear Jackson speak.  
He praised the protesters for their "radical  
departure from the selfishness and self-in-  
dulgence of the yuppies" and compared

South Africa, the coalition maintains that  
Columbia "uses the possible economic  
hardship of the 0.3 percent of South African  
blacks employed by U.S. companies to con-  
done participating in the constant rep-  
ression of every South African black." It  
also notes that the size of the school's South  
African-related holdings—only 3 percent

They all knew, however, that he was  
going back to court the next day and they  
all knew it will not be easy to sustain the  
high level of activity, especially as summer  
approaches. But for now, it was another  
small win—one in a string. And on the side  
of "Mandela Hall," the message from  
Madison, Wisc., remained.

## And at Berkeley, students protest ties to South Africa

Moving into the second week, the pro-  
divestment sit-in at the University of  
California Berkeley was attracting crowds  
comparable to protests of the '60s (the  
comparisons are inevitable) and an even  
wider base than the campus anti-war  
movement mustered.

But initially the sit-in had the makings  
of a political disaster. Its evolution illus-  
trates the strength and racial balance of  
the coalition behind demands that UC re-  
gents divest the university's \$2.6 billion  
holdings in firms doing business in South  
Africa.

The sit-in grew out of an April 11 rally  
held by Berkeley's three largest divest-  
ment groups. Leaders of the action de-  
cided against civil disobedience, mostly  
because of concern that it would interfere  
with that week's student election, in  
which Pedro Nogura was making an even-  
tually successful bid to become the first  
black student president in more than a  
decade.

But the Sproul Hall rally provoked  
some participants—mostly unaffiliated  
white left types—to "take the steps," and  
198 people slept there that night. The

United People of Color kept its distance  
from the sit-in, then cautiously endorsed  
it and called a rally for April 15 that drew  
thousands. University administrators gave  
the movement its best boost by arresting  
139 sit-in participants at dawn Tuesday.  
That afternoon 14 student government  
leaders dressed in their establishment best  
presented themselves for arrest.

Since then rallies have drawn 5,000 or  
more people with hundreds sleeping on  
the steps at night. By April 17 the sit-in  
and class boycott had another measure of  
its impact. State politicians were rushing  
from Sacramento to address it.

Long-time divestment proponent As-  
semblywoman Maxine Waters told the  
crowd that she collared other legislators  
for the trip to Berkeley "when I saw what  
was going on here. We don't like it when  
students are dragged off steps. Anyone  
who thinks you're alone in this has another  
think coming." Waters and Berkeley As-  
semblymember Tom Bates promised to  
pressure the regents at budget time if they  
take no action on divestiture at the June  
meetings scheduled to discuss it.

—Joan Walsh





Faith United Methodist Church welcomed Salvadoran refugee Guillermo (left) in the church. Their pastor Gil Dawes (right) calls sanctuary "a travelling speakers' bureau."

By Beth Maschinot

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA

**T**HIS INDUSTRIAL CITY OF 110,000 in central Iowa has the unremarkable look of a scaled-down Indianapolis, Ind. Flags wave on a windy day, one or two to a block, lawns are trimmed, churches abound. Rockwell International is its largest industry, and Rockwell plants dot the neighborhoods, including the Rockwell Communications Defense plant a block from Faith United Methodist Church.

The world goes by as Cedar Rapids watches unperturbed: that is how the people at Faith United portray their city. In fact, on April 14, the day that Faith United was publicly greeting Guillermo, a Salvadoran refugee who had come to the church for sanctuary, the Cedar Rapids press, and most of Cedar Rapids, ignored the event.

But Faith United's 77 members turned out in full force, along with another 80 people from neighboring churches in Mt. Vernon, Iowa City and Clinton. The stark church was packed as 20-year-old Guillermo told why he fled El Salvador.

"In 1979 they killed my dad," he said. "He was coming home from work five minutes after the curfew. The National Guard stopped him and beat him savagely. Finally they ripped him up with a machine gun...."

"Two years later they killed my mom. She was coming from the country to sell vegetables in the city. The National Guard ransacked the vegetables, throwing them everywhere. Then they beat her and laughed, saying, 'Communist, tell me where the camp of your guerrilla friends is.' Finally they poured gasoline on her and set her on fire." Guillermo continued his story for a half hour.

Later, in the common meeting room, Guillermo removed the bandana that hides him from photographers and answered the congregation's questions. "What does 'Communist' mean to you?" "Were you politically involved at all?" "What is the relationship between the military in Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras?" "What do you think of [Salvadoran President José Napoleon] Duarte?"

The discussion went on for two hours, until Guillermo signalled his weariness. His answers made it clear he wasn't politically

## SANCTUARY

# Iowa church greets refugee messenger

active in El Salvador. "I spent all my time trying to find food for myself and my brothers and sisters." But he had a sharp sense of the Salvadoran National Guard's repressive tactics, Duarte's unwillingness and inability to control them and the U.S. role in the region.

### Safe haven?

When sanctuary was first declared in Arizona and California three years ago, it was primarily thought of as a safe haven for refugees. But it was also a platform for those brutalized by Central American conflicts, since the Reagan administration seemed intent on stifling any domestic opposition to its policies there.

In the past few years, hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees have poured into the U.S., mostly settling in large cities and in the Southwest. Although many of those refugees have made their way to the U.S. by themselves, thousands of them have been transported to their destinations by workers on the "underground railroad."

The Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, the movement's main organizing body, estimates that only 600-700 of the refugees have lived in public sanctuaries. Around the U.S. more than 200 groups mostly Quakers, Unitarians and Catholics, have declared sanctuary.

Sanctuary refugees are not randomly selected from those who appear at a church's door. First they are "screened" to see if they're ready for the commitment, says Sister Darlene Nicgorski, who has done a large chunk of screening for the sanctuary movement. "We look for a person with physical and emotional stamina, someone who won't go crazy being confined if it's too risky to move about the city. We also look for a clear story of per-

secution and, most important, a person who is deeply committed to representing their country and their culture."

Nicgorski was arrested with 15 other sanctuary workers in Arizona on January 14 (see story next page). Also arrested the same day were 65 refugees, 47 of them from Nicgorski's Bible study group. Since the arrests, the Mexico-U.S. border area has tightened, making it more difficult to move refugees to sanctuaries. And though the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has not yet entered a sanctuary church and arrested a refugee, the January arrests raised the stakes considerably. So sanctuary workers must now deal with the realization that sanctuary may not always mean "safe haven," as originally hoped.

### A travelling speakers' bureau.

In his pragmatic style, Faith United's pastor, Gil Dawes, calls sanctuary a "travelling speakers' bureau." Most refugees stay at a sanctuary church, synagogue or community for a few months at a time speaking to churches and other groups in the area, and then move on to other congregations or blend in to a large city. The sanctuaries must balance the necessity of precautions that sometimes include withholding logistical information from part of the congregation, 24-hour monitors to insure the presence of support in case of harassment or arrest, hurried travel to a "safer" sanctuary—against the refugee's and congregation's desire to communicate their experiences to the widest possible audience.

Faith United's members—mostly blue-collar and service workers with a sprinkling of professionals, including a few engineers at Rockwell—seem well aware of Guillermo's and their own risks. They've discussed the pros and cons of sanctuary for more than a year. And before that, two

years of Dawes' preaching and two years of Wednesday Bible study—an open forum for debate on current issues with a reflection on a Biblical passage—had politicized the congregation.

Groups deciding on sanctuary educate themselves to some degree about Central America before they take the vote. Faith's process, however, was more in-depth than most, because the congregation had a longer way to go. Before Dawes arrived three years ago, they were mostly an apolitical group held captive by a sprinkling of outspoken conservatives.

But Dawes, fresh from a stint at a church in Camanche, Iowa, where he helped organize a wildcat strike at the Clinton Corn Processing plant, swept the community with his direct style and left-wing politics. "He always speaks his mind and he never avoids controversy," was the way church member Norma LeMaster put it.

Although Dawes didn't stifle dissent, he aggressively fought the conservatives, who were evangelicals, with their own tool—the Bible. Yet the conservatives continued to dissent: during the worship services, during the Bible studies, during social get-togethers, until finally, as LeMaster says, "they went shrieking into the parking lot and said they had had it. One of our 88-year-old members told them, 'It's your loss' as they all ran out the door."

Now there's a sense of common purpose that didn't exist before. But the calm has not precluded lively and often conflictive debate. Scores of Catholic missionaries who've worked in Central America have trooped through Faith's doors, and often they contradict the mainstream media's versions of the conflicts there. LeMaster says she still does not consider herself a "political person." But now she believes that there are two sides to every Central American question. And increasingly she thinks that "Gil and all the others we've heard who've seen it first-hand can't be all wrong."

When the congregation voted to become a sanctuary last October (with 89 percent voting in favor), Joni Hayles was impressed by the straightforwardness of the decision. "There was no hand-holding, no sentimentality," says the 29-year-old Hayles, a doctor at a local hospital who joined the church because of Dawes' politics. Her Chilean



husband, Patricio Carrasco, was imprisoned several years ago by Gen. Augusto Pinochet. "I'm Cedar Rapids only Chilean exile," he says, laughing. Carrasco, who taught Spanish to the congregation for several months before the refugee's arrival, also gave Guillermo pointers about how to avoid going stir-crazy in the small church.

Hayles and Carrasco were surprised that breaking the law wasn't most church members' main concern, which is the case at many churches deciding about sanctuary. As a small, working-class church, many of Faith's hesitations were pragmatic: would they have enough food, enough people to stay as monitors around the clock, enough money for a defense fund in case people are arrested? Although many of these questions remain unanswered, Faith United, with the help of support churches, hoarded supplies in preparation for Guillermo's arrival.

Church members did worry about breaking the law, yet their concern was practical. Chris Gochenour, a mother of two, says, "Our children were pretty afraid for a while. 'Mom, what do we do if you have to go to jail?' they asked. That sort of thing."

Though so far the INS arrests have been of movement leaders or in border churches, it recently raided Iowa City for "illegals." Sanctuary workers believe the INS hoped to intimidate a newly-arrived sanctuary family there. The same family had just been furtively transported to Iowa City from Davenport, Iowa, because an INS agent confided to a sympathizer that the agency had been watching the family. So Faith United's concerns for safety were not overdramatized.

But the main obstacle the church had to overcome was members' fear of unemployment. "We talked about those people coming over here to take our jobs, since about one-third of them are unemployed. That's something the sanctuary movement has to be more clear about."

Dawes says he used that concern to talk about runaway shops and cheap labor. "I told them that their tax dollars go to prop up dictators who don't believe in labor unions—that in the long run more jobs would be available here if we stopped draining the resources from Central America."

Bill (a pseudonym), a technician at the Rockwell plant, had a more pressing worry about unemployment. Nearing retirement age, he already feels the heat from bosses who'd like to force him into early retirement to cut down on "pension money, my five-week vacation and bills for my dental work." He's hesitant to support sanctuary openly for this reason, but he sneaks in at times to donate things to keep Guillermo entertained.

When asked why he thought the U.S. was in Central America, Bill gave a sly look and answered, "You're an educated woman. You know we've been there dozens of times in the last century, protecting big-money interests on the plantations and now in the factories." According to church members, Bill had been so quiet about his opinions that many of them worried that he did not support the sanctuary decision, yet was afraid to voice his opinion.

Many sanctuary groups—especially the Quakers—refuse to declare sanctuary until they have come to a consensus decision. Joni Hayles says she respects the philosophy, but laughs when thinking of applying it at Faith United. "We would have waited 'til hell freezes over if we had to have a unanimous decision." As it was, the church opted for a strong majority. Yet since the decision, Dawes has encouraged dissenting opinions in the hope that those who do not yet support sanctuary will still participate in the church.

### Egyptland.

Gil Dawes is no stranger to disagreement and conflict. Like others steeped in liberation theology, he believes conflict is constructive when it helps unmask the inequalities of power or money that already exist. Dawes, 51, is a slight man with sandy hair, a sharp face and a resolute voice. He is a very effective demystifier. For in-

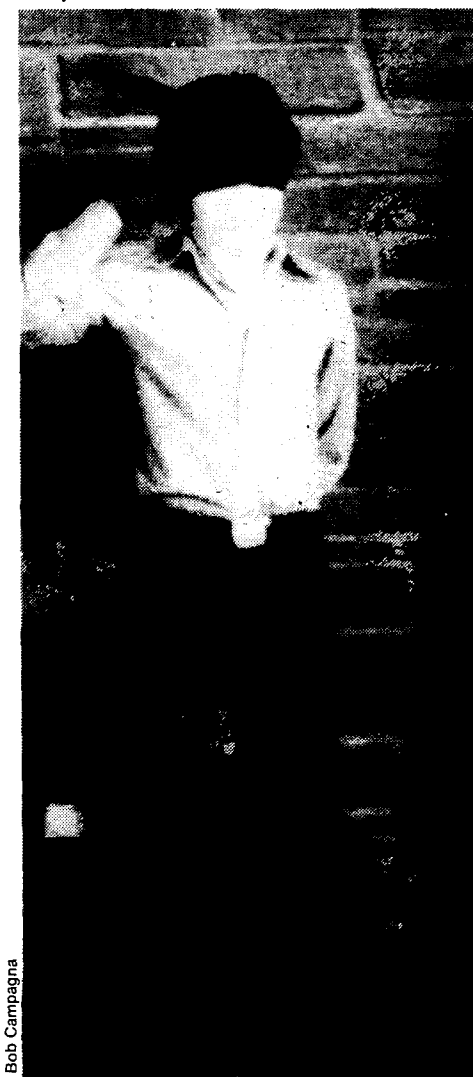
stance, during a sermon a week before Guillermo arrived, he gently nudged the hocus focus out of miracles this way: "The incidence of coma was high in those days, so when the Bible says someone raised someone else from the dead, you ought to remember that. I'm not saying it explains it all, but it's high time someone told you it's part of the record."

Later that day he tried to make the *contras* in Nicaragua just as real: "Reagan's a stinking liar. He calls them freedom fighters, but what freedom fighter bases their willingness to fight on whether they get money from another country? Compare them to the Salvadoran guerrillas who will fight to the death no matter what."

Dawes often runs up against a common double-bind that many religious activists encounter. He's "too political" for many church people, including some sanctuary workers, yet secular political people wonder why he's wasting his time in the church. Dawes takes both his religion and his politics seriously, believing that among Christians who read the Bible carefully (and temper Paul's Hellenic idealism), there is no clear separation between the two. "The first thing I did when I came here was to require Bibles in the pews and require that we use those Bibles. Whenever you ask what's going on in the world, you're talking ideology. And this ideology we use can be an upsetting one," he says.

Although Faith United's sanctuary declaration is a way of "helping someone in need," church members in the course of their political education came to see themselves as powerless and needy as well. Deeply affected by industrial decline, Reagan's budget cuts and their military-related jobs at Rockwell—one of the few companies around adding employees because of its new \$400 million Navstar contract—their humanitarian gesture was intertwined with empathy for Guillermo. As Dawes said at his welcoming ceremony, "He will be a missionary for us. He will tell us things we need to know."

A black spiritual popular with slaves and abolitionists in the last century that was based on Exodus, liberation theologians' favorite book of the Bible, also applies to Faith United. "Go down, Moses! Way down to Egyptland. Tell ol' Pharaoh to let my people go." Although some people would like to view the sanctuary movement as Americans freeing Salvadorans from their oppressors in Egyptland to the promised land of the U.S., sanctuary workers say it's not that simple. "We are a nation of sheep," says Gochenour. "We have to learn what's going on here and how it affects the world. We have to take responsibility."



Bob Campagna

# Federal crackdown on sanctuary movement

By W. Gardner Selby

AUSTIN, TX

**T**HE NATIONAL SANCTUARY MOVEMENT, claiming 50,000 participants in more than 200 churches nationwide, is still reeling from the January federal indictment of 16 sanctuary activists for "conspiracy to smuggle illegal aliens." Yet it has suddenly found itself thrust into the realm of a score of lawyers who, for both the government and church members, hope to break new legal ground during upcoming court dates.

A U.S. special attorney recently filed an unusual motion requesting that U.S. District Judge Earl Carroll of Phoenix restrict testimony in the Arizona conspiracy trial to the "facts" of smuggling. This would disallow arguments concerning conditions in Central America, the 1980 Refugee Act, the Geneva Conventions or constitutional bases for the defendants' actions. Arguments on that motion, along with a dozen defense motions, are set for May 21.

"We'll have a full-blown mini-trial on these issues well before trial," Donald M. Reno, the special prosecutor, told *In These Times*. "The proper place to raise these international issues is during deportation proceedings surrounding the aliens. You don't have the authority to appoint yourself as an ad hoc immigration agency and then bring in these people willy-nilly," he said.

In Houston a federal district judge in March sentenced two sanctuary activists convicted by a jury of transporting five Salvadorans from the border to a Roman Catholic halfway house and to a bus station last November. One of the activists, Jack Elder, who is director of a south Texas refugee shelter called Casa Oscar Romero, began serving a 150-day sentence at a San Antonio halfway house April 8. The other activist, Stacey Lynn Merkt, who is a Colorado lay worker, is free pending her appeal of a 179-day sentence. Judge Filemon Vela allowed the appeal on the conditions that she quit the shelter, stop working with refugees and not speak publicly about the movement.

Defense lawyers called the post-trial "gag order" unprecedented and they may appeal. Elder had attempted to avoid such conditions when Vela sentenced Elder and Merkt on March 27. The judge gave Elder two years' probation with the same restrictions that he placed on Merkt. Elder objected, however, and the judge handed down a jail term to Elder. He is now prohibited from working with refugees and needs federal approval to talk with reporters.

Lawyers handling the defense of the 12 sanctuary activists who remain under indictment in Arizona (charges were dropped against two Mexican nationals and two nuns) have filed extensive briefs arguing that church members transported the refugees out of personal convictions protected by the First Amendment and in accord with U.S. and international refugee laws.

In two previous sanctuary-smuggling trials, during which Elder was acquitted by a jury in January and Tucson activist Phil Willis-Conger saw his case thrown out before trial in July 1984, lawyers attempted to carry the First Amendment defenses without success. In Elder's earlier case, U.S. District Judge Hayden Head Jr. accepted his premise—that he acted out of deep religious convictions—but held that the government has an overriding need to enforce immigration controls. In the just-completed Merkt-Elder trial, Judge Vela ruled along the same lines.

Bates Butler, one of the Arizona defense lawyers, said he expects the religious issue to carry more weight in the upcoming

Arizona conspiracy trial. "We've had the benefit of what's gone before," he said. In addition, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has filed a "friend of the court" brief, which objects on constitutional grounds to the undercover agents' secret taping of 100 hours of in-church meetings during the seven-month investigation that led to the indictments.

"Obviously, they're prosecuting church people because it's consistent with U.S. foreign policy goals," he continued. "They could easily spend that money on [U.S.] Border Patrol agents and stop a whole lot more smugglers."

But Special Prosecutor Reno disagreed. "We didn't try to make distinctions as to who we arrested," he said. "It so happened that the people we indicted were spokesmen and at the heart of the movement."

Among those indicted were James Corbett, a retired Arizona rancher and founder of the "Underground Railroad," Darlene Nicgorski, who "screened" refugees to place in sanctuary churches, and the Rev. John Fife, pastor of Southside United Presbyterian Church in Tucson, which was among the first American churches to declare themselves public sanctuaries in March 1982. More than 50 refugees, "passengers" on the "railroad," were also named as un-indicted co-conspirators. Twenty-five have been subpoenaed to appear for trial and will then face deportation proceedings.

While national attention has focused on the Arizona indictments, more significant legal terrain might be marked during an appeal pending before the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Arguments are scheduled in New Orleans May 9 in what will be the first sanctuary-smuggling case to reach the appellate level. In May 1984 a jury convicted Merkt of illegally driving three Salvadorans through south Texas in

**"It just so happened that the people we indicted were spokesmen or at the heart of the movement."**

February 1984. After that verdict was handed down, Judge Vela sentenced Merkt to two years' probation. But Merkt's first sentence was revoked after her later conviction in March.

Appeals lawyer Dennis Riordan of San Francisco contends that Vela misinterpreted the relevant immigration statutes and violated Merkt's right to due process by instructing the jury to ignore arguments concerning her religious motives for transporting the Salvadorans.

Although acknowledging that the statutes make no specific allowance for religious beliefs, Riordan said that Congress intended that the law leave considerable discretion. "Congress knew that if it [the law] had traditional criminal applications, you'd be arresting half the population of the Southwest" for giving rides to undocumented workers, he said.

Riordan said he is confident of winning the appeal, "unless there's a politically sensitive reading of the law. This will mean that people can get on the stand and explain why they assisted refugees. If we're right, it will open the door for [religiously motivated conduct]."

A decision may come just in time for the remaining defendants in Arizona.

**W. Gardner Selby** is a freelance writer based in Austin, Texas.



## LABOR

# On TWU picket line with a Pan Am flight attendant

By Cindy Hounsell

**O**N FEBRUARY 28 PAN AMERICAN World Airways was struck by the Transport Workers Union (TWU), which represents mechanics, flight dispatchers, baggage handlers and food service workers. In a show of labor unity unprecedented in the airline industry, Pan Am's four remaining unions immediately honored the picket lines.

The TWU had not counted on the support of the pilots, the "fat cats" of the industry. Their unexpected solidarity became a catalyst for further support. The Independent Union of Flight Attendants (IUFA), which had unsuccessfully participated in talks for 11 months, immediately asked the National Mediation Board to release it from bargaining; a 30-day cooling-off period was agreed to and a strike deadline set for April 1. The Teamsters, who represent reservation and ground handling agents, fuel truckers and cargo operators, also indicated their support. Pan Am was virtually grounded.

As a Pan Am flight attendant for 17 years, I have witnessed the apathy and anti-union sentiments of many of my colleagues. I fought a difficult and losing battle in 1977 to keep flight attendants from leaving the protective wing of the TWU and becoming an anonymous independent union. I feared this decision because I knew all too well the sentiments of our 6,000 members.

Therefore, on February 28 I didn't hold much hope that a majority of my colleagues would honor the TWU picket lines. Yet I knew that if we didn't support them, they definitely would not support us on our later strike date. Pan Am had been "hiring" flight attendant scabs since January. Many of my colleagues were convinced that we would all be replaced, since the scabs can be

trained in Federal Aviation Agency classes in emergency evacuation in less than two weeks.

But when TWU struck, I was surprised by both my colleagues' anger and Pan Am's stupidity. The union was well prepared for the strike, having set up command centers at the airport hotels at all of our bases. Flight attendants reporting in uniform to the airport could observe the picket lines and then make the decision either to inform Pan Am that they would not cross the line or to take the "health and safety tack," telling the company that they feared for their safety.

After the strike's first week, the pilots got their contract, and they immediately crossed the picket lines. But buoyed by a week of unity, with several union meetings to charge up members, flight attendants refused to follow the pilots' example. Without the flight attendants the pilots could not fly. And no replacements were forthcoming; management fill-ins were exhausted from the flights they had worked and the scabs were not yet trained. For these reasons, Pan Am was not able to schedule additional flights, yet they told the media that they were operating at almost 50 percent capacity. Strikers walking the lines, however, knew this was not the case. Only three flights a day, for example, were operating from New York's JFK Airport, Pan Am's busiest hub.

Pan Am pulled out all the stops in its efforts to convince flight attendants to return to their jobs. Supervisors called the attendants and read accounts from the National Labor Relations Act of what would happen if they didn't show up for work. In turn, the union telephone committees called attendants to explain that Pan Am was lying; the attendants came under the Railway Labor Act instead. Husbands were called and told that if their wives didn't contact Pan Am's scheduling department by a certain time their jobs would be lost. The president of Pan Am sent 15 mailgrams telling attendants their union was lying and asking them to return to work. The pilots put a message on their hot-line tape telling attendants if they didn't come back they would definitely lose their jobs. But these actions

only further angered IUFA members.

So the flight attendants became more militant. In fact, we were more visible than the striking TWU. Several times we had to complain to the TWU that their guys weren't showing up for picket duty and that made them look bad to our members.

Throughout the dispute, the TWU strikers kept talking about the "girls." "They're everywhere," was the cry. The "girls"—20 percent male and with a median age of 40—were eventually blamed by both Pan Am and TWU Air Transport President John Kerrigan for the loss of many of Pan Am's summer bookings. Flight attendants had called and written travel agents about Pan Am's labor problems.

The weak link for the IUFA was the president of our union, Dennis Nadale. He was told by Pan Am President C. Edward Acker to send his workers back to their jobs in a show of good faith. After leading a seven-to-six vote of our executive board, Nadale ordered us back to work without a contract and without obtaining a non-recrimination clause. Before informing the other unions of this agreement, Pan Am put out the word to the media. The company then used our return to further choke the other negotiating teams, since the management people doing our jobs could now fill the other jobs.

Pan Am reached an agreement with TWU a week later. In New York there was a militant effort to vote down the contract, but it passed anyway.

On April 1 Pan Am and the IUFA averted a strike when union officials accepted one of the most punitive and retrogressive contracts in the airline industry. Under the new contract many work rules would be imposed that had been abolished before I started my job in 1968.

Unfortunately, I expect the membership to approve the contract. In that case I will apply for one of 500 voluntary-early-out positions. Yet even with 17 years' service, I doubt I will have the seniority to qualify.

Employee hostility is now so rampant that Pan Am has put two management people on every flight to prevent sabotage. ■

Cindy Hounsell is a PanAm flight attendant and an on-line IUFA representative.

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Paul Comstock

# PanAm's settled strike is Pyrrhic victory

By David Mermelstein

**W**HY DID WORKERS OF PAN American World Airways recently go out on strike against a firm that had in the '80s lost more than \$1 billion and that twice during this period teetered on the brink of insolvency? Was this a classic case of unions cutting off their collective nose to spite their face?

This may have been the way C. Edward Acker, Pan Am's chairman and president, and his chief negotiator, C. Raymond Grebey, viewed the situation. Workers, on the other hand, saw these men as the architects of a cynical plan to scapegoat management failures by taking it out on labor.

Historically, Pan Am's woes go back to the late '60s when it acquired too many Boeing 747s, eventually causing it to skirt bankruptcy in 1973. Employees, however, rallied around the blue ball (the corporate insignia) by lobbying Congress and volunteering concessions before they were fashionable.

Later that decade Pan Am entered a costly bidding war with Eastern Airlines and Texas International to obtain National Airlines. The purpose was to acquire domestic feeder routes for its international flights. Since deregulation—known at the time to be imminent—made routes available for free, the purchase was a colossal blunder.

But for Pan Am, waste and blunder are a way of life. One explanation for this is contained in a recent report by Lazard Frères & Co., prepared at the request of Pan Am's board of directors. Pan Am's financial problems reflect its history, Lazard suggests—one in which management downplayed the profit motive in favor of emphasizing its role as the premier U.S. flag carrier.

Acker, of course, cannot be blamed for the National fiasco. He came to Pan Am in 1981 from the presidency of Air Florida, which (curiously) went bankrupt shortly after he left. He was twice able to persuade each of Pan Am's five unions to agree to sizable givebacks. Workers believed the board of directors was finally determined to bite the bullet by bringing in Acker to do away with the managerial waste that had long plagued Pan Am.

Unfortunately, blunders did not abate

under Acker's reign. For example, Pan Am expanded the hub in Houston only to shrink it shortly thereafter. Travel agents had their fees reduced and then raised again when bookings went elsewhere.

In pinpointing \$100 million of managerial waste in operations other than labor, Lazard's study confirmed what workers already knew: management was frittering away their giveback money. An infuriating example was the \$50 million squandered last year when management mindlessly placed a deadline on the utilization of the free tickets earned by frequent travelers. This resulted in full-paying passengers being bumped during peak season.

What, then had workers to show for their givebacks? Just salaries considerably lower than industry scale. Pan Am mechanics, for example, earn a top base salary of \$28,000, \$8,000 less than their counterparts at Trans World Airlines. Baggage handlers make \$10.94 an hour, compared to the industry average of \$13.84.

As Lazard puts it, Pan Am's problem was not one of excessive salaries, except at the level of top management; Acker is the highest paid executive in the airline industry. Rather, it is one of excessive head counts, especially in such areas as management, clerical, purchasing and sales. Astounded by Lazard's account of managerial laxity, *Business Week* felt the report was "new ammunition for Pan Am's unions."

## Decision to strike.

With the dollar more muscular than Arnold Schwarzenegger, workers in the U.S. are increasingly called upon for givebacks to compete with cheap foreign labor. Pan Am's workers, in contrast, earned wages that were already lower than competitors like United, TWA and American. Yet they were being asked by Acker to lower their wages and working conditions once more to finance management's endless appetite for waste and blunder.

What are workers to do if managers can't manage? In this case they struck.

If managerial incompetence was the underlying issue, managerial arrogance brought matters to a head. Chairman Acker brought in as vice president for industrial relations C. Raymond Grebey. The name may ring a bell. Grebey achieved a degree of notoriety as the abrasive negotiator for the major league baseball owners. The ball

players held him responsible for the bitter strike of 1981.

None of the unions has a kind word for Grebey. Pilot leader James Macquarrie spoke for all when he was quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* as saying, "You can't print what I would call Grebey."

Grebey, who spent more than 20 years in labor relations at General Electric, works in the tradition of Boulwarism (after Lemuel Boulware, former vice president of GE, whose negotiating stance is best summed up in the phrase "take it or leave it." Together, he and Acker, who was known for his anti-union, anti-worker attitudes at Air Florida, made a gruesome negotiating twosome.

Last summer Pan Am was forced to renegotiate with each of the union's alternative pension plans, since it was short of the funding required by the IRS. In the midst of negotiations, Acker, without the courtesy of informing the unions, unilaterally substituted his own paltry plan for the one existing in the contract. It was the corporate equivalent of December 1941, when Japanese diplomats smilingly negotiated in Washington while their compatriots were bombing Pearl Harbor. The pension issue is currently in court-ordered arbitration.

Managerial arrogance rose to new heights in the matter of the "snapbacks," which were 1981 concessions that were contractually due to snap back on Jan. 1, 1985. In spite of unambiguous language, Pan Am refused to pay their workers what was owed them in January, even claiming, without a shred of evidence, when the unions hauled them to court, that they were prevented from doing so under the Railway Labor Act.

In what was an open-and-shut case, the courts ruled in favor of the unions. No wonder Pan Am's workers were wary of Acker's assurances that the B-scale workers and part-timers he sought to employ would not eventually be used as replacements. Acker's pledges do not seem to be worth the paper they are printed on.

The month-long strike is over. The Transport Workers Union ended up accepting a contract not substantially different from what they were offered when the strike began. The contract more recently offered the Independent Union of Flight Attendants is even worse (see story page 8). A failure of leadership in this union has left little

chance the contract will be voted down. If union-bashing is the criterion, Acker has earned his salary.

Yet this may be a classic case of a Pyrrhic victory. The strike not only cost Pan Am most of its spring business, but more important, it caused wholesale cancellations of its summer bookings as well. Given Pan Am's managerial ineptitude, the current chaos in Pan Am's operations is likely to continue long into the summer.

Canny travel agents, aware of Pan Am's unreliability, and the fact that it will be serviced by disgruntled workers, will continue where possible to book their customers elsewhere. It will come as no surprise if Pan Am were soon to be added to the list of bankrupt airlines Acker has managed, including Air Florida and Braniff.

If so, many will attribute Pan Am's demise to deregulation. To some extent, Pan Am's foundering does represent the inability of an incompetent management to adjust from years of cost-carelessness to the demanding regimen of competition.

But Pan Am's financial problems predated deregulation. One wonders why the board of directors, or powerful bank creditors, like Chemical, Morgan Guaranty or Citibank, were never willing to confront the business-as-usual attitude of Pan Am's management. Boulwarism is puzzling, too. It was not the expected route for Pan Am. It doesn't exist at United, which has maintained profitability, or even at Eastern, an equally troubled carrier which has moved to a more cooperative association with its unionized labor.

Can a company dependent on the morale of workers who come into daily contact with customers long survive if its labor relations are governed by the likes of Acker and Grebey? From this vantage point Acker may have made a fatal miscalculation. He forced a strike on workers who were still willing to compromise had the air not been poisoned by his negotiating antics.

Unlike workers with 20 years of seniority, many of whom will walk away with little or nothing, Acker has made a fortune from Pan Am. He is proof, if any was still needed, that in Reagan's America, it is increasingly evident that life is unfair. ■

**David Mermelstein** is an associate professor of economics at Polytechnic Institute of New York. He is married to Pan Am flight attendant Cindy Hounsell.



By Spyros Draenos

ATHENS

*Socialist governments of southern Europe have taken power at a time of deep crisis—a period of stagnation in national income and investment. So we all complain, saying that it is a pity that we don't have the same opportunities our predecessors had, that we must attempt socialism under especially difficult conditions. But if capitalism had not entered such a crisis, we wouldn't have become government.*

—Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu  
June 3, 1983

**T**HAT ONE TERM IN GOVERNMENT would not be enough to turn around a seriously ailing economy was a foregone conclusion for Andreas Papandreu's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). What remains to be seen is whether, if re-elected, the experience gained from grappling with Greek realities will pay off for PASOK in the pursuit of a coherent development strategy over the next four years.

Swept to power in October 1981 on an ambitious program of social reform, economic development and independent foreign policy, PASOK faced a Herculean task. Inflation was running at more than 25 percent. Investments were in precipitous decline. The country's major productive units were heavily indebted to the state-owned banks.

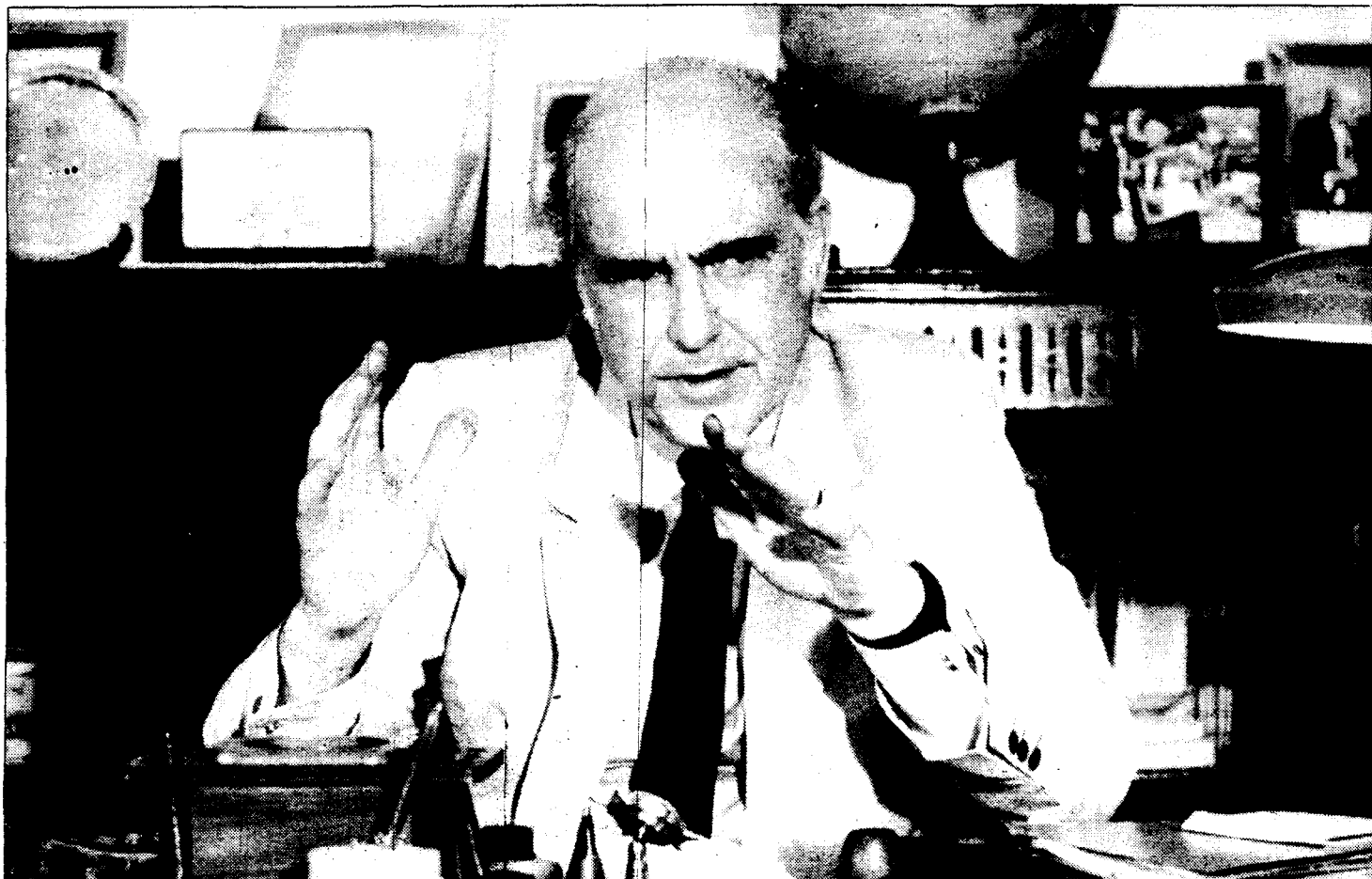
Thirty-six years of almost continual conservative rule, punctuated by the seven-year Papadopoulos dictatorship (1967-74), left an economy with severe structural weaknesses, an oppressive, antiquated and highly-centralized state bureaucracy and shamefully deficient health, education and social services. Between the state machine—swollen by patronage and dominated by particularist interests—and family-based businesses almost no mediating institutions have existed.

With a massive underground economy, entrepreneurs out for short-term speculative gain and a vast army of middlemen standing between producer and consumer, the Greek economy has been built on a foundation of sand, relying heavily on tourism and receipts from Greek workers abroad as sources of national income. Lacking coherent financial and technical support from the state, the agricultural sector—28 percent of the working population in 1981—has lagged in productivity and competitiveness. The same holds for manufacturing, which—representing around 20 percent of employment and GNP—remains small scale. In 1980, 93 percent of manufacturing units employed fewer than 10 persons.

Faced with this reality, PASOK's goal has been the stabilization of the economy and the enactment of a series of social reforms including democratization of trade unions, change of the family law to eliminate discrimination against women, modernization of the university system and upgrading of health care. Meanwhile, the Papandreu government incorporated its long-range efforts for structural change into a five-year plan for social and economic development (1983-87), through a decentralized and democratic planning process. The plan describes key policy objectives to be modernization, decentralization and participation.

Now, after four years in office, the Papandreu government faces parliamentary elections on June 16. These elections, however, are not simply for a test of PASOK's success in carrying out enough of its program to gain a public vote of confidence for a new term. In addition, voters will decide whether to confirm a proposal—initiated by Papandreu March 9 in PASOK's 200-member central committee—that the party support Supreme Court Judge Christos Sartzetakis, rather than Constantine Karamanlis, the conservative incumbent, for the office of president of the Republic. Papandreu also proposed several constitutional amendments designed to curb the executive powers granted the presidency under Karamanlis' 1975 constitution.

Sartzetakis' election by Parliament in a cliff-hanger on March 29, and the passage



Prime Minister Papandreu has proposed several constitutional amendments to curb the executive powers granted the presidency.

## GREECE

## Upcoming elections will be a test of Papandreu's strength

of the amendments by a three-fifths vote on April 5 in the first parliamentary vote; one more will take place on May 5 and a third will be made by the new parliament—are now accomplished. What remains is the public's seal of approval in the coming vote. If that is achieved, PASOK will be in a stronger position to push toward its long-term goals, still only on the distant horizon. A victory for PASOK and Papandreu in June will create a new political equation and help change the structure of power by eliminating autocratic elements in Greece's parliamentary democracy that represent Greece's traditional bonds of dependence within the international order.

### Western view challenged.

The establishment press in the West has painted the situation in Greece as a severe political—even constitutional—crisis, but things look quite different from within the country. To be sure, PASOK's displacement of Karamanlis has implications and consequences far deeper than the choice of a presidential candidate would have in most other countries. For in fact, Karamanlis, as a president with decisive powers to intervene in the functioning of the popularly-elected government, was exactly what foreign press reports made him out to be: a guarantee of stability—that is, a guarantee

## A June victory would put Papandreu in a stronger position to push for his long-term goals.

that PASOK's independent foreign policy and domestic reforms would stay within bounds acceptable to the Reagan administration.

As prime minister between 1955 and 1963, Karamanlis headed a parliamentary garrison state designed to insure that the left, defeated through American intervention in the 1947-49 civil war, stayed defeated.

(Ironically, President Sartzetakis, though affiliated with no party, was the government's antagonist in one of the most shameful acts of that garrison state. In 1963 right-wing hoodlums, with strong ties to the state's security services, murdered the left-wing deputy Grigoris Lambrakis, an event depicted in Costa-Gavras' political thriller "Z." Sartzetakis was the persistent court investigator who pursued the case in the face of pressures from the government to halt it. For his courageous stand, he gained both enormous public esteem and, under the military junta, imprisonment and torture at the Military Police Headquarters, next door to the American embassy in Athens.)

Karamanlis was thus the last in a long line of such "guarantors" that go back to the founding of the Greek state—in 1833, the Great Powers imposed a Bavarian king on the newly liberated nation in order to protect their interests in the region.

More feared than loved, Karamanlis' political demise was greeted at the grass roots with passive resignation by supporters and enthusiasm by opponents. His decision to resign in the wake of PASOK's withdrawal of support was widely regarded as a sign of arrogance and contempt, reminiscent of his departure for Paris under an assumed name after his defeat in the 1963 elections to avoid the "indignity" of becoming merely the leader of the opposition. While respected for his skill in leading the country back to parliamentary rule in 1974, Karamanlis was unable to check the rising demand for reform while leading a series of New Democracy governments before 1980, when he was elected president. PASOK's election in 1981 brought on a period that came to be known as the "historical compromise à la Grèce," an era whose internal history has yet to be written and that has now come to an end.

Sartzetakis was elected president by the minimum three-fifths majority—180 out of

300 parliamentary deputies—required by the constitution. His votes came from PASOK's 163 deputies, 12 Communist deputies and independents.

This minimum win gave the opposition New Democracy Party the opportunity to create a political issue it has had some difficulty in handling. The "deciding" vote came from the speaker of the Parliament, Yannis Alevras, who, under the constitution, became acting president upon Karamanlis' resignation, without losing his parliamentary seat. The constitution is unclear about whether the acting president is allowed to vote or not in the presidential poll. Moreover, there is no judicial procedure for settling the matter. The referral of the issue to Parliament was—not surprisingly—unsatisfactory to New Democracy, given PASOK's secure majority.

### Mitsotakis' dilemma.

While New Democracy thus declared that it did not recognize Sartzetakis' election as valid, the party's recently-elected leader, Constantine Mitsotakis, seems anxious to downgrade the issue, declaring that "the people will provide the solution" in the elections. The problem is that Mitsotakis has not made clear what solution they are to provide. The party's "old guard" Karamanlis supporters are out for blood and apparently want a clear demand for Sartzetakis' resignation as a central campaign issue, opening the way to Karamanlis' re-entry into the political scene.

A "liberal" by descent and one of the break-away deputies who sided with the King in his 1965 conflict with Papandreu's father George Papandreu's Center Union government, Mitsotakis is anathema to PASOK and widely regarded as a political opportunist. The fall of George Papandreu's government and the King's refusal to grant new elections is what put Greece on course to the 1967 military coup. At the same time, Mitsotakis is also something of an outsider in the New Democracy, which he joined in 1979. His political fate depends on keeping Karamanlis out of the picture.

The internal struggle over the issue within New Democracy will likely be resolved when Parliament dissolves soon after the May 6 vote on the constitutional amendments and the country heads for elections. At that point, some decision will have to be announced on how the party proposes



to handle Sartzetakis' election. A decision to make the new president's resignation a central campaign demand will sharpen conflicts, giving them a constitutional dimension, and open the way for Karamanlis' active re-involvement.

Presumably, Mitsotakis would like to avoid such a turn of affairs, preferring to exploit the Karamanlis affair as a symbol of Papandreou's "unreliability" and "adventurism" and to focus the campaign elsewhere. And elsewhere means on foreign policy and the economy. In his hour-and-a-half press conference on Greek television April 3, he appeared both as the "good boy" of the West, expressing a desire to meet with Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal, and as a severe critic of PASOK's economic policies, proposing in their place an odd combination of government handouts and supply-side economics. If Mitsotakis is able to impose his line on the party, this is where the campaign is likely to be fought out, though Mitsotakis will clearly have to find some formula for satisfying party revanchists.

The economy is, in fact, PASOK's main vulnerability. Though there is a mild recovery, growth is not large enough to absorb the increasing number of young workers entering the labor market and, as the prime minister recently pointed out, even though Greek industry received a five-year transitional period to adapt to conditions in the EEC, it is still having difficulty meeting competition from the Community.

Even if the economy does emerge as a central issue, however, PASOK's defeat seems unlikely. While many hoped that PASOK would accomplish more than it has, Greeks are generally sober about economic realities and New Democracy has shown them little in the way of an alternative. Moreover, PASOK's list of accomplishments is not small. A renewal of PASOK's mandate for change, including, as it would, a public affirmation of the shift in the country's structure of power, would open the prospect of making that list much longer.

*Spyros Draenos is editor of Thirty Days, an English-language Greek monthly.*

## Border

*Continued from page 3*

In addition, many Americans worry about the abuse of already overburdened social services. Others are concerned about the assimilation difficulties of a large Spanish-speaking population or about rising crime rates. The general feeling is that, with all due sympathy for the economic plight of Mexican immigrants, U.S. citizens, especially minorities and the underprivileged, deserve priority.

### Exposing the myths.

Studies concerning immigration, however, have been yielding surprising results in recent years. In 1981 the U.S. government's Select Commission on Immigration published the results of an extensive study entitled *U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest*. The Commission concluded that immigrants "do not place a substantial burden on social services...contribute to the economic well-being of our society; strengthen our social security and manpower capability...create as well as take jobs and readily pay more into the public

coffers than they take out...."

The Commission also admitted that proof of wage depression and job displacement due to undocumented workers is inconclusive. Jobs vacated by the deportation of undocumented workers are filled with other undocumented workers. Unskilled U.S. minorities are not geographically mobile enough for the jobs and some of the jobs are too stigmatized for citizens. Additional evidence indicates that undocumented workers keep some marginal businesses alive and prevent capital flight to developing countries.

These findings coincide with the research findings of immigration specialists in the U.S. and Mexico. For years these scholars have been attempting to redefine the immigration problem. Wayne Cornelius, a leading immigration researcher at the University of California at La Jolla, said, "The problem is not the migrant worker himself...but his illegal status."

Jorge Bustamante, a prominent Mexican authority on immigration who works at the Center for the Study of the Border and Northern Mexico in Tijuana, recently wrote, "An extremely important part of what we define as the 'problem'...is the vast discrepancy between scientific findings and public opinion." Given these redefinitions, many scholars recommend generous legalization measures as well as public education to target misconceptions.

Most "liberal" immigration suggestions are relatively moderate. Few advocate radical measures such as open borders. Rebecca Morales, a UCLA researcher cur-

rently working in Mexicali, explains that an open border to immigration would imply an open border to U.S. investments in Mexico. The open border proposal may be an ideal to some, but it is no more politically palatable to Mexico than to the U.S.

Many opponents of Simpson-Mazzoli, Roybal and restrictive legislation in general view immigration as a symptom of international economics and a structural problem that cannot be treated separately from its deeper causes. Most of them opt for incremental measures, such as increased legal migration from Mexico. Enforcement, they say, should focus not on immigration but on labor standards and the removal of obstacles to unionization. Emphasis should be placed on bilateral development plans for Mexico. They contend that current U.S. policies on Mexican debt repayment and encouragement of austerity measures only exacerbate immigration pressures.

Many anti-restrictionists will admit that undocumented workers may take some U.S. jobs, use some social services and have some negative impact. They claim, however, that costs should be weighed against the benefits.

Policymakers and public opinion seem determined to ignore immigration's benefits and emphasize the costs. When traditional arguments such as job displacement fail or prove inconclusive as in the 1981 report, new arguments are quickly found. Attention is focused on the negative effects of an illegal subclass. Competition with Mexican-Americans is also pointed out, yet Mexican-Americans have proven the most

vigorous opponents of the restrictions that are supposed to protect them.

Given the country's current conservative mood, even the incremental measures of anti-restrictionists are unpopular. Mexican concern over the revival of nativist sentiment in the U.S. is historically justified. Bustamante points out that immigrants have repeatedly been used as scapegoats in times of crisis. In 1929 hundreds of thousands of Mexicans—and citizen Mexican-Americans—were expelled. Again in 1954 one million Mexicans were deported in what was called Operation Wetback.

Mexican sensitivity is aptly expressed by undocumented detainees who charge that they do the work Americans won't do and then get all the blame. Moreover, they are within the punishment but beyond the protection of U.S. law.

Today's prevailing public opinion on immigration coincides with the 1981 Commission Report: "If it is a truism to say that the U.S. is a nation of immigrants, it is also a truism that it is one no longer...." The "era of limits" perception is expressed in calls for restriction. Yet the debate continues.

Most people agree that the resolution lies somewhere between the extremes of a militarized and an open border. Unfortunately, nobody seems able to say just where. Given the social, economic and special interests that complicate immigration, the current policy stalemate is not likely to be resolved soon.

*Veronika Kot writes regularly about Mexico.*

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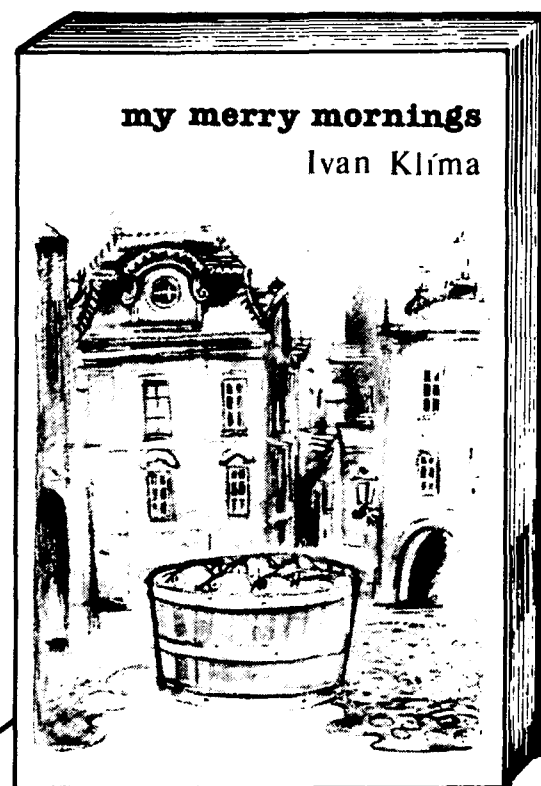
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## TROUBLE IN

## BRASS

By Jeremy Brecher

ONE THREE-QUARTERS OF THE nation's brass was produced in Connecticut's Naugatuck Valley. This spring Century Brass, the last integrated brass producer in the Valley, is threatening to close.

After a meeting with one of their creditors, Century officials announced last month that they would close the company unless workers accepted \$4.8 million in wage and benefit concessions over the next year. Local union leaders and the UAW, which represents Century workers, opposed the concessions.

At an emotional union meeting addressed by Century President Lewis Segal, workers voted two-to-one to reject the concessions. Two days later the company started laying off workers, and its officials asserted the entire operation would be closed before the spring was out.

The Century brass mills were once the core of the Scovill Manufacturing Company, whose roots in Waterbury date back to 1802. The Gosses and Sperrys, Yankee families that ran the company through World War II, were old-style captains of industry who sent their sons into the plants to learn the business from the ground up while dominating the economic and social life of the community. Scovill was one of the "Big Three" brass producers, along with the American Brass Company and Chase Brass and Copper, that gave the area the name "the Brass Valley."

In the wake of the great Western copper discoveries in the late 19th century, it was widely believed that the brass industry would leave the Naugatuck Valley and migrate west. But it didn't happen, largely because the brass entrepreneurs were committed to keeping the industry in the Valley. They made sure that transportation to the Valley was strong. They invested in the western minefields to preserve their access to raw materials. And they sponsored local industries in Connecticut that would use brass and thereby keep the market for brass centralized there.

Against the logic of shifting raw materials and a decentralizing national market, they managed to keep Waterbury the brass capital of the country. However autocratic their role, the brass magnates had a strong interest in keeping the economy of the city and region intact. Waterbury was their home and the locus of their many interests, not just a pin on the map.

By the '30s, American Brass and Chase had been bought up by Anaconda and Kennicott. Scovill managed to remain independent. In the early '50s, Scovill built one of the most modern brass production facilities in the country. Thereafter, however, it allowed its brass plants to age, with little new investment. It used its profits to buy other companies, becoming a mini-conglomerate in its own right.

Into the early '50s, the brass industry in the Naugatuck Valley superficially looked

sound. Yet as with the rest of American industry, a low rate of investment was silently eroding the competitiveness of the plants, as buildings and equipment deteriorated or became obsolete and were not replaced. Meanwhile, when brass companies did create new productive facilities, they tended to do so outside of the Valley, following their customers to industrial regions of the Midwest or far West or seeking cheap labor in the South.

Because of copper's high price, other rustproof, malleable materials like aluminum and plastic began replacing brass for many applications. Europe and Japan, with modern, technologically advanced plants, higher rates of reinvestment and lower labor costs, were able to out-compete U.S. producers in many brass product lines during the '60s and '70s. In the '70s and '80s, high New England energy costs gave Connecticut producers an additional disadvantage relative to their Midwestern competitors. The dollar's overvaluing has led to a surge of imports in the '80s, which Century officials blame for their present difficulties.

Century Vice-President Frank Santaguida recently told the *Hartford Courant*, "The brass industry almost completely disintegrated to foreign imports. Nine years ago, 6 percent of the brass in this country was imported. Today it's 42 percent."

In the mid-'70s, Scovill decided to sell off its aging brass operations, keeping only a modernistic world headquarters building in Waterbury as a reminder of its historic ties to the area. The Scovill brass business was valued at \$80 million. But when no buyer seemed eager to take on its substantial unfunded pension liabilities, a rather peculiar enterprise was created to purchase the Scovill brass division.

The principal purchaser was Charles Rubenstein, a scrap metal dealer who was one of Scovill's suppliers. People long involved with Scovill played a role in the new company—at least one member of the Goss family served on the board of directors. Under considerable pressure to "save" the business, the Connecticut Development Authority agreed to guarantee a \$10 million loan for the mill's purchasers. The investors in the new company acquired the Scovill brass operation for a mere \$2 million in cash.

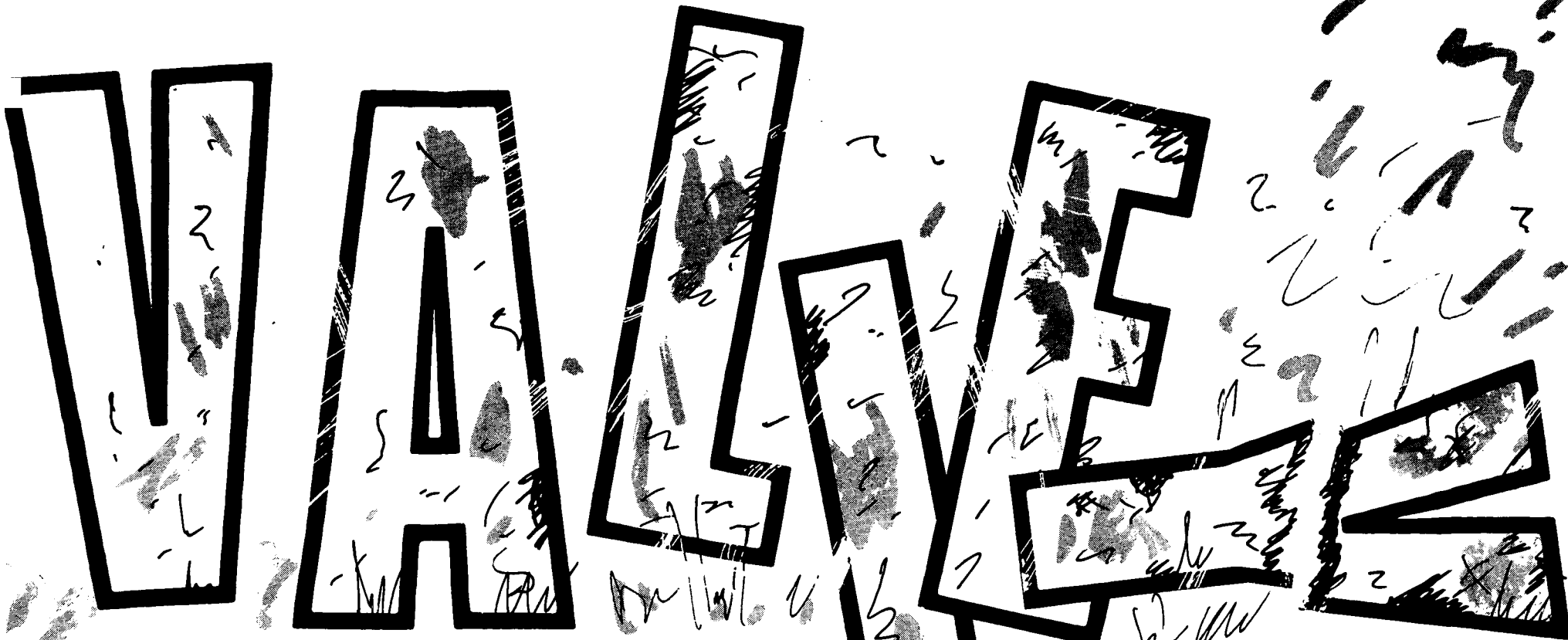
The first recorded strikes in the brass industry date from the 1880s, when workers at Scovill's and elsewhere organized in the Knights of Labor. At the turn of the century, women brass workers had their own "Lady Brass Workers of Waterbury" local alongside a variety of male locals. But within a few years the employers had become bitterly anti-union, and labor activists were fired as soon as they could be fingered by company spies and were run out of town once identified by the police.

Two general strikes conducted primarily by unskilled immigrant workers shook the Naugatuck Valley in 1919 and 1920, but

**The story of Century Brass illustrates some of the most difficult problems the labor movement faces.**







police and national guard repression, combined with the ability of the employers to wait out the strikers, led to the eventual defeat of the movement and the subsequent elimination of organized labor from the town.

The burgeoning labor movement of the '30s reached Waterbury by means of what might be termed "industrial unionism from below." Western miners who worked for large national companies like Anaconda and Kennicott discovered that when they struck, the companies simply continued to produce from stockpiles in their Eastern brass mills. The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, one of the first CIO affiliates, sent organizers East to the Naugatuck Valley to try to organize the brass workers. Mine-Mill grew slowly in Waterbury during the '30s; recognition was not won at Scovill until World War II, and even then active support for the union was weak, due largely to effective management paternalism and to an unremitting conflict between Mine-Mill's "left wing" national leadership and a movement of local leaders in the Naugatuck Valley who opposed them.

By the early '50s, most of Waterbury's brass workers and union leaders had left Mine-Mill and joined the UAW. In 1952 the Scovill UAW local, with only a few hundred paid-up members, challenged the company in a four-month strike that became a general community struggle and resulted in the consolidation of a powerful and rather militant union. But its power and militancy tapered off during the following two decades.

In the mid-'70s, when Scovill decided to unload its brass operation, the union faced a dilemma. The purchasers insisted that, before the deal was closed, workers would have to accept a three-year wage freeze. According to UAW representative Mike Vernovai, the state Labor Commissioner sat down with the union and said that if they didn't accept the wage freeze, the company would shut down. The local union committee, with the support of the UAW, voted 11 to five to reject the offer.

The next morning the local union president met secretly at the mayor's office with then-Gov. Ella Grasso and told them he would accept the offer. At a ratification meeting three months later the membership of the local voted to accept the freeze. An active opposition group in the union opposed the original settlement and has challenged the local leadership at every turn, once even going so far as to lead a four-day wildcat strike and conduct a sit-in at union headquarters in protest against union acceptance of company policy on work rules.

In 1981 Century announced that it would close unless workers accepted cutbacks in benefits, including abandonment of the pension plan. Workers struck for four days, then accepted another wage freeze.

Last year opponents of further concessions won important leadership positions in the local. Then workers voted down a proposed three-year contract and struck for

a week. But Gov. William O'Neill intervened, strikers returned to work and a contract with a wage freeze followed by modest wage increases was finally accepted.

Century's recent demand for new concessions came barely half a year into that contract. A minority within the local, spearheaded by the previous leadership, has urged acceptance of the take-backs and is pushing for reconsideration of their rejection.

Reporters assigned to the Century story and others unfamiliar with the local scene repeatedly expressed amazement that workers would vote to eliminate their own jobs. Workers' feelings, however, were articulated clearly: they hated working in freezing temperatures in the winter, with fumes blown around by inadequate ventilating fans in the summer, with broken toilets and with inadequate cleaning and maintenance of the plant. They lacked the spur that often keeps factory workers in unsatisfactory jobs—the sense of security that comes from accumulated seniority—because the company appeared bound to fail sooner or later.

While the Naugatuck Valley remains a relatively high unemployment area, Connecticut as a whole has one of the tightest labor markets in the country right now; many workers figured that if they were ever to escape from Century, this was as good a time as any to make the move.

Many workers believed they had been subsidizing the company for years already by working at substandard wages and they distrusted the company's poverty claims. They may have wondered whether the concessions demanded of them were to keep the plant open or rather to pursue an unspecified "acquisition opportunity" that President Lewis Segal recently described as a reason for optimism about Century.

The Century story illustrates some of the most difficult problems the labor movement faces. Business has been almost completely successful in putting the blame for plant closings on workers and unions. In Waterbury, many older people still speak bitterly about the closing of the Chase Brass company a decade ago in the wake of a long strike, and most, even union members and supporters, blame the union.

The general theory that high wages price local or American workers out of the market and lead their jobs to move elsewhere is almost an article of faith. And whenever companies have closed locally, they have shifted responsibility to workers by offering them the alternative of "saving" the company by accepting concessions, thereby making the closing of the company appear a result of workers' refusal.

Today many workers believe that union membership does not mean job security but rather a constant danger of job loss. The militance expressed by the new union leadership at Century found no way to challenge this perception. The lack of imaginative response by the labor movement to this situation can mean only the continued loss

of support even among industrial workers.

Most brass union officials have opposed concessions to management over the past decade on the grounds that concessions at one company provide a lever to use against workers at other places. There is an altruistic dimension when workers refuse concessions and thereby sacrifice their jobs, a desire not to drag down wages for other workers. It is a measure of how little the labor movement is understood that this explanation was met not only with disbelief but with incomprehension by newspeople who heard it. It was as if their world view did not allow for such an exhibition of labor solidarity.

The loss of Century also exemplifies a major shift in the structure of American industry. More than 25,000 people once worked in brass and related industries in the Waterbury region; the Scovill plant itself once employed more than 10,000 workers. As brass declined, new industries moved into Waterbury to take advantage of the available workforce and factory buildings, but they are highly diversified in contrast to the past single-industry concentration. Further, they employ workers by the hundred rather than by the thousand.

This is a conscious policy to prevent unionization. The internal strategic plan of one Waterbury company, for example, specifically provides that no single production unit will exceed a certain number of workers, and even cities historical statistics to demonstrate that plants larger than that provide "critical mass" for unionism. It is rapidly expanding its facilities—but not in Waterbury.

Industrial diversification and de-concentration are changing the shape of the labor movement. With Century's demise, the largest remaining industrial local union in Waterbury does not represent a giant plant, but rather is an amalgamated local servicing dozens of small companies.

There seems to be widespread belief that the failure of a company like Century must be the result of poor management. But the closing may actually have been in full accord with the management's long-term goals. Profits milked from Century were used to buy other companies, and salaries to Century executives, many of whom were also investors, exceeded their original cash investment manyfold. In 1979, the only year for which such figures are available, Century's five top officials received more than \$1 million in salaries, bonuses, insurance and retirement plan payments, and Century purchased for \$500,000 and \$1.5 million in Century stock a company called Central Metal, all of whose selling stockholders were either officers of Century or their relatives. The goal management set may well not have been to establish a viable

enterprise, but rather to see how much it could milk from the facilities before there was nothing left but a shell. And in terms of this goal, they apparently managed well.

But if that's true it raises questions about the way the brass operation was "saved" in the first place. After all, this was no model of "free enterprise." The company was a highly political affair from the start: then-Gov. Ella Grasso and the Connecticut Development Authority were its midwives, and government contracts provided a substantial part of its business.

The purchasers put up \$2 million and in turn got a plant worth an estimated \$80 million. They received a loan guarantee from the state of Connecticut—a procedure in which the public takes all the risk while the lenders receive their interest risk-free. The purchasers took on Scovill's pension liabilities, but these were insured by the federal government if the company failed. The closing of Century Brass is a monument to a public policy that subsidizes the entrepreneurs ostensibly to save jobs, yet which regards public oversight of those so subsidized as an interference with the free market system.

One search for an alternative to industrial decline is represented by the Naugatuck Valley Project, a joint effort by unions like the UAW, community organizations like the Connecticut Citizen Action Group and Catholic and other religious groups. The Project was pulled together by Ken Galdston, an organizer trained at the Yale School of Organization and Management. Its program includes identifying local enterprises in danger of closing and attempting to shore them up before they go under, encouraging the investment of local money in local enterprises and supporting worker and/or community buyouts.

Such buyouts provide part of the answer for ailing brass mills. In the town of Seymour in the lower Naugatuck Valley, a buyout assisted by the Naugatuck Valley Project is about to be consummated at the local plant of the Bridgeport Brass Company with strong support from the local union and local management people. Another was underway in New Milford to purchase a tube mill owned by Century Brass—the deal may be an additional casualty of the Century closing. While such an approach is unlikely to save integrated brass productions in the Valley, it is likely to be viable where specialized producers have a market niche that depends more on the skills of the workforce than on large infusions of capital.

But what about a situation where a company cannot be made economically viable? A major problem with worker/community buyouts is that many companies threatened with closing have already been run into the ground. Worker/community purchase then promises only a participatory version of "lemon socialism." It has been suggested, for example, that Century workers accept

*Continued on page 22*



# EDITORIAL

War is peace. Counterrevolutionaries are revolutionaries. Lies are truth. And Ronald Reagan is in the White House, seeking—almost hysterically—to cajole, pressure, browbeat Congress into providing him with the means to make Nicaragua buckle under and say “uncle.”

Faced with the failure of an insurgency created in 1981 by the CIA and sustained by illegal aid until stopped by Congress last summer, the president is now desperately trying to trick Congress and the American people into a new commitment to a process that can only lead to bloody and protracted war throughout Central America. In typical doublespeak, he calls his request for military aid a “peace offer,” and promises not to use the \$14 million he is seeking from Congress for arms and munitions for 60 days, during which time the Sandinistas are supposed to agree to take the *contras* into their government. The trick, of course, is that after 60 days, unless the Sandinistas comply, money for arms and ammunition will be resumed.

Like everyone else, Reagan must know that the Sandinistas could not possibly accept the terms of this proposal—and, in fact, they immediately rejected it as a propaganda ploy. Yet last week the president chided members of Congress for hesitating to accept his latest sleight of hand. He complained that they were “paralyzed over a mere \$14 million in humanitarian aid.”

Meanwhile, the administration was a bit more candid with two congressional committees. They were told that while the “direct application of military force” was ruled out for now, it “must realistically be recognized as an eventual option, given our stakes in the region, if other policy alternatives fail.”

But the administration’s leading military expert on Central America, Gen. Paul F. Gorman—and every other knowledgeable person—knows the *contras* have no chance of overthrowing the Sandinistas in the foreseeable future. The administration, therefore, was telling Congress that war is inevitable if Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz are given the means to pursue their goal of destroying the Sandinista regime. For if the president accepts no alternative to this goal, he will have to use military force when the *contras*’ efforts fail. That is why the vote on the \$14 million in “humanitarian aid” is a critical departure point for American policy.

By stopping aid to the *contras* last summer, Congress implicitly created



## A critical step toward war

other options, including that of a peaceful accommodation with the Sandinista government. And without funding for the *contras*, various options will remain open. But if Congress once again yields to the administration, if it accepts Reagan’s goal in regard to Nicaragua even only implicitly, it will create a situation where the nation’s alternatives appear to be only war or humiliation. Or, more likely, war and humiliation.

### The public response.

If one were to look only at the public response to Reagan’s Nicaragua policy and rhetoric, the chances for his defeat in Congress would seem great. At every turn he seems to be thwarted. He calls the Sandinistas Soviet puppets and a threat to their neighbors in Central America, yet even the *Wall Street Journal* repudiates him. The *Journal* reported April 3 that while “nearly everyone agrees the ruling Sandinistas are committed Marxists, they don’t seem to be ‘eager puppets’ of Moscow or a serious threat to neighboring countries, as President Reagan claims.” The *Journal* supported this opinion with

a quotation from a “classified U.S. intelligence report prepared late last year.” It concluded that “the overall buildup is primarily defense-oriented and much of the recent effort has been devoted to improving counterinsurgency capabilities.” As for administration claims that Managua is a part of the Soviet bloc and that its Cuban advisors “have the final word on most things,” the *Journal* concluded that “such rhetoric” seems “designed mainly to inflame the public debate and influence Congress.”

Reagan also claims that his latest proposal for 60 days of peace talks prior to the resumption of war has the support of the Contadora nations—Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico and Panama—and of the Vatican. But last week the Vatican said that while it approved a cease fire and talks between the *contras* and the Sandinistas, it did not endorse a resumption of *contra* aid. And Colombia’s President Belisario Betancur said that if the administration is using his statement in support of talks to gain renewed military aid for the rebels, “there would be a contradiction by whomever attempts to do so.” It would be “infinitely more constructive,” Betancur said, if Reagan’s proposal “made no mention to a 60-day time limit” for an end to non-military aid, because that “is almost like an ultimatum.”

Indeed, Betancur told the *New York Times* April 15 that Reagan’s recent call for Congress to approve \$14 million in aid to the *contras* made that part of his plan “no longer a peace proposal, but a preparation for war.” And, the *Times* reported, at a meeting in Panama two weeks ago, their first since last fall, “officials from all four Contadora countries said their government had come to similar conclusions.”

But no matter how transparent Reagan’s peace proposal may be, there is a good chance that Congress will fail to see through it—just as it failed to see through Reagan’s bargaining chip ploy on the MX missiles. House Speaker Tip O’Neill did see the Reagan proposal as a “dirty trick” when it was announced, and up to that time it was generally accepted that a renewal of aid was “dead in the water.” Furthermore, it is clear that a substantial majority of Americans are opposed to U.S. involvement in efforts to overthrow the Sandinistas—one *Washington Post* and ABC News poll two months ago found 80 percent opposed and opposition to be uniformly strong in all regions of the country and among all seg-

ments of the population. But most Congress members have weak wills, and even weaker principles, and they are still mesmerized by the president’s continuing popularity.

### Accommodation?

Meanwhile, as Raymond Bonner argued in the *Los Angeles Times* (April 14), the Sandinistas continue to evolve in their own way. They are clearly not creating a Communist society on the model of the Soviet Union or Cuba. Indeed, Fidel Castro has himself urged the Sandinistas to allow opposition newspapers and political parties and, above all, not to get in hock to the Soviet Union. And they are clearly not creating an American-style liberal democracy.

In some ways, Bonner suggests, the Sandinistas may be closer to the Mexican model, though, he writes, the Sandinista revolution, to date, has been “far more benign” than the Mexican Revolution in the early part of the century. In Mexico in the teens, counterrevolutionary leaders “were routinely executed, as were thousands of their peasant followers.” In addition, Mexico’s 1917 revolutionary constitution nationalized the church and banned religious processions. Priests were hanged and churches were looted.

And in Mexico, the Institutional Revolutionary Party has been the sole ruling party since 1929. There are opposition parties in Mexico, but they have had no chance of coming to power for decades.

In the early days of the Mexican revolution, the United States came close to invading in order to set up a government more friendly to American corporate interests there, but in the end refrained and even came to live peacefully with the revolution as it evolved. If that could be accomplished almost 70 years ago, when the U.S. routinely invaded Latin American nations if they dared overthrow regimes subservient to American interests, it should certainly be possible now.

The fact is that the Sandinistas do not in any way threaten the American people, but the Reagan policies do. Not only do these policies threaten a war that we can never finally win, but they also threaten to make the United States, and the American people, objects of intense fear and hatred by the vast majority of people in the world. Reagan may truly see himself as another George Washington, but the rest of the world is increasingly coming to see him as a reincarnation of King George III.

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## DIALOG

*Village Voice* writers and editors respond on pages 15-17 to Jim Sleeper's recent story about Denny Farrell's candidacy in the New York mayoral race and the *Voice's* role in New York politics.

## The innocent publication of fictional references

By Jack Newfield

**P**OR JIM SLEEPER. I FEEL sorry for him. He was expelled from the *Village Voice* for multiple ethical violations. These included betraying the confidential source of a colleague and working for the same politician he wrote about favorably in the pages of the *Voice*. As a result of his expulsion Sleeper developed an unhealthy obsession about the *Voice*.

Not knowing any of this sordid history, *In These Times* innocently published his article (ITT, March 20), which contained many fictional references to me, although he never interviewed me, or any of my co-workers, about his fantasies and delusions. I will respond, as briefly as possible, to his most plausible hoaxes.

(1) Sleeper made frequent references to my relationship with New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. He wrote: "Newfield

policies the left for the governor." At times he implied I do whatever Cuomo wants me to do, and at other times he implied that Cuomo does whatever I want him to do. Neither conspiracy theory reflects reality.

Cuomo has been a friend of mine since 1969, when I first met him and wrote a story describing him as a young neighborhood lawyer saving the homes of 69 Italian Queens homeowners from a city bulldozer. I think he is a good governor. But we don't agree about all issues. I have disagreed with him in print. I have written two *Voice* cover stories opposing the Westway highway/real estate boondoggle, which he fervently supports. I co-authored Wacko Awards for him in December of 1982 and 1983 with Wayne Barrett and Joe Conason.

If Sleeper had an open-minded curiosity about the nature of my friendship with Cuomo he might have quoted a relevant passage from Cuomo's published diaries. On page 177, Cuomo wrote:

"Newfield and Breslin, too, have an extraordinary good sense of how things are perceived by the public. That shouldn't be a surprise, considering what they do for a living. They've also managed not to let our personal relationship affect them professionally. Neither of them has ever been reluctant about disagreeing with me and saying so. It hasn't always made me happy, but it certainly has won my respect."

(2) Sleeper wrote: "Newfield wound up huddling with friends to plan Alvarado's defense."

This is fantasy. I thought New York schools chancellor Anthony Alvarado should have resigned when his personal loans from subordinates became public. I told this directly to Alvarado. I did not plan his defense. When my friend and co-worker Wayne Barrett wrote two articles partially defending Alvarado, I told Barrett I thought Alvarado should resign. But I also thought that while he was in office, Alvarado was the most inspiring advocate of public education I had ever seen.

(3) Sleeper wrote that I failed to write critically about Brooklyn Democratic Party leader Howard Golden and John Zaccaro, the realtor. Apparently he does not read the paper he loves to attack.

In the March 19, 1985, *Voice* I wrote

an exposé of Golden called "Howie the Hack's Urge to Purge." In the Jan. 1, 1985, issue of the *Voice* I gave Zaccaro the Wacko of the Year Award. I wrote: "If Ferraro had won, Zaccaro would probably have syndicated a tax shelter on the White House."

Sleeper also made several snide and false references to Brooklyn Assemblyman Al Vann, suggesting the *Voice* likes him too much and agrees with him too much. As with Cuomo, I do like and respect Al Vann. He is one of the most admirable elected officials in the country. But I don't always have to agree with him, or he with me, to maintain mutual respect. Vann supported Rev. Jesse Jackson for president, while I favored Mondale. Vann favored Dr. Thomas Minter for schools chancellor, while I preferred Alvarado. Sleeper, like Mayor Koch, seems to think the *Village Voice* is a monolithic entity with a rigid party line. But any reasonable reader, not blinded by resentment or obsession, can see we are a pluralistic journal of opinion—with no sacred cows.

We do our best. We make powerful enemies. We make some honest mistakes. We keep trying.

Jack Newfield is senior editor of the *Village Voice*.

## The roots of Jim Sleeper's vendetta

By David Schneiderman

**F**OR THE PAST TWO YEARS, the *Village Voice* and some of its writers have been subjected to the rich fantasy life of Jim Sleeper, the latest example being his piece in *In These Times* (ITT, March 20).

His vendetta against the *Voice* stems largely from disagreement with articles by Wayne Barrett in 1981 and 1982 investigating Brooklyn Rep. Charles Schumer's use of his New York State Assembly staff in the 1980 congressional campaign. These articles prompted a probe of Schumer by the U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of New York.

Sleeper's roommate Rachel Gorlin had worked for Schumer and maintained a friendship with him. She gave an affidavit supporting his defense. Wayne Barrett and Jack Newfield of the *Voice* believed

Sleeper misused his contacts here to discredit the *Voice* and aid Schumer in stopping the indictment. Another affidavit, offered by Schumer's attorney Arthur Liman, alluded to *Voice* sources who revealed the supposedly vengeful nature of the Barrett pieces, one of whom must have been Sleeper.

In fact, Sleeper wrote a 50-page defense of Schumer and attack on the *Voice* that he tried and failed to get published, but mailed to the seven justices of the state Court of Appeals.

That essay contained wild allegations about the *Voice* and its writers, but its most egregious feature was Sleeper's disclosure of a confidential source who had helped him on a *Voice* story. This person's career and reputation were endangered by Sleeper's disregard of a fundamental journalistic rule. I no longer trusted him and felt his work didn't belong on our pages.

After Sleeper left the *Voice*, I learned

he had written campaign literature for a congressional candidate whom he had supported in *Voice* articles and whose opponent he'd attacked. I also learned that Gorlin had subsequently gotten a job on the staff of the same Representative. This pattern has been repeated again and again, usually without acknowledgement to his readers of his conflict of interest.

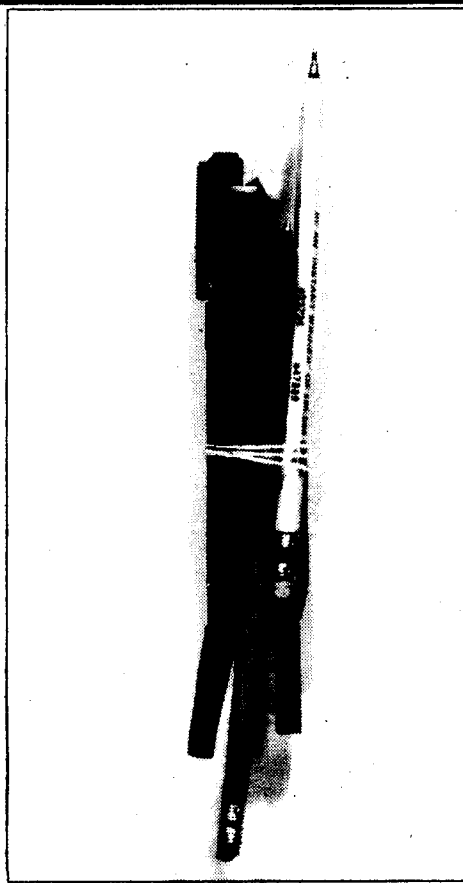
So here we have a writer lecturing us on ethics who should look to his own.

Yet because *In These Times* is circulated nationally, it is worthwhile to refute his central accusation: that the *Voice* is a political monolith, inclined to lionize certain favorites and lambaste those we whimsically decide have fallen.

*Voice* readers know there are many contending voices here, and that no one is required to adhere to a "line."

• Sleeper claims that the *Voice* indulges in "selective muckraking against those deemed hostile to [Newfield's]

Continued on following page



Joe Louis: My Life

In These Times Graphic



## DIALOG

Continued from previous page

agendas or those of his personal friend, Gov. Cuomo," and refers repeatedly to "the Cuomo connection." The implication, of course, is that Mario Cuomo is thus insulated from criticism in the *Voice*.

This will surprise the governor. We were the only major city publication (aside from the *Amsterdam News*) to support him in the 1982 Democratic primary, but within a month of his inauguration, Cuomo became the subject of consistent criticism by Wayne Barrett, starting with a Feb. 15, 1983, column entitled "Mario's Budget: One-sided Sacrifice." Barrett even wrote unfavorably about Cuomo's celebrated Democratic Party national convention keynote speech in San Francisco. In a speech to a Jewish group, Cuomo denounced one of Wayne's pieces as an example of "a new bigotry." Since Barrett is our key city reporter, a reader might say the *Voice*, on balance, has been anti-Cuomo. This does not necessarily reflect the opinions of all our political writers but, on balance, our Cuomo copy has been hostile since his inauguration.

• Sleeper's remarks about our coverage of the 1984 presidential campaign are equally misleading. He implies that we dismissed all alternatives to Walter Mondale "long before the debate should have been closed," again because of Cuomo, and that we "abdicated our responsibility" to scrutinize Mondale. In fact, the debate in our offices over whom we should endorse in the New York primary continued until the last minute, as political advisers to both Mondale and Gary Hart would recall.

Moreover, we ran several pieces favorable to Jesse Jackson, including a controversial defense of Louis Farrakhan. Hart, Mondale and Jackson were all interviewed at length in our pages.

• Sleeper somehow finds evidence of Cuomo meddling in our coverage of former city school Chancellor Anthony Alvarado. "Selected with Newfield's frenzied support after Cuomo's commissioner of education conveniently disqualified Koch's candidate...Alvarado was soon forced to resign amid damning revelations of past conduct that Newfield should have investigated." He claimed Newfield "wound up huddling with friends to plan Alvarado's defense, while *Voice* writer Wayne Barrett attacked the media and the Koch administration for pressing the kinds of charges he himself had often pressed against others in the past."

This is utter fantasy. The *Voice* did publish an editorial doubting the qualifications of the mayor's candidate, and expressing a preference for Alvarado. But our influence on the Board of Education, dominated by the mayor himself, could scarcely be considered significant.

Newfield, in fact, tried to dissuade Barrett from writing articles about Alvarado. And Barrett himself never argued that Alvarado should not be removed. "It's not," he emphasized in his first article, "that we can't afford to lose him, if the full facts require that we must. It's that we can't afford to toss him away before the full facts are carefully weighed." In a second piece, Barrett continued to criticize the media and investigators pursuing Alvarado, but concluded: "I hold public officials to high standards and, as flawed as [the report on Alvarado] was, I don't believe Alvarado can meet mine any more. There seems to me to be enough to finish him." Did Sleeper forget this?

Barrett, who had publicly supported Alvarado's rival, Thomas Minter, for chancellor, was right about some of the reckless allegations against the former chancellor. He has since been cleared of criminal liability by two district attorneys and a U.S. attorney.

• Sleeper's comments about the current mayoral campaign indicate that he no

longer reads the *Voice* and feels safe in concocting his own cartoon version. He feels we should be "pondering the lessons of our irresponsible coverage of the mayoral race," implying that we slanted the paper for Herman Badillo and against Carol Bellamy, while eschewing any criticism of the Coalition for a Just New York and its chairman Al Vann.

Among the most admiring words about Al Vann ever to appear in this paper were those under Sleeper's own byline: other writers here have criticized Vann sharply for his political endorsements and his legislative work.

As for the Coalition and the mayoral race, I refer readers to Barrett's week-by-week coverage. "The Bellamy/Badillo contest," he wrote, "deserves thoughtful examination by everyone with a voice in the process, and eventually a decision on the merits. Bellamy's negatives have been emphasized in this newspaper but her positions over the years on tax abatements, the homeless, foster care and child abuse have been consistently progressive. This is no opportunist race for her.... Badillo's lifetime excellence on issues that matter to poor people puts him ahead of Bellamy, but he must prove he can win."

On November 20, Barrett reported Badillo's curious letter to a judge on behalf of a convicted landlord arsonist. Nor did Barrett hesitate to criticize the coalition and its members.

And at a critical point last December, we ran long, probing interviews with Bellamy and Badillo.

♦ In another fraudulent charge, Sleeper suggests that the *Voice* supported Howard Golden in his Brooklyn Democratic leadership contest with Anthony Genovesi. But, again, Barrett's reporting puts the lie to this charge. On Jan. 31, 1984, his column headlined "Brooklyn Chooses Gloom or Doom" was devoted to an exhaustive account of each man's

assets and liabilities, and urged Brooklyn Democrats to seek a third alternative. He called Golden "deeply intertwined with some of the borough's most insidious political elements."

• Sleeper characterizes Barrett's recent investigation of mayoral candidate Denny Farrell as "sour-grapes, anti-Farrell muck-raking." But Barrett didn't support Badillo, the intended victim of Farrell's candidacy. The *Voice* is examining a virtually unknown mayoral candidate. Wayne's stories are the result of tips it would be wrong to ignore. They came to light because Farrell is now a major story. (Barrett's work was cited extensively by Daniel Lazare in *In These Times*, March 12.) Again, we've played no favorites. As Newfield noted in a recent essay, Farrell is a politician the *Voice* supported for Manhattan Democratic leadership four years ago, and whom we've criticized frequently ever since.

I have been a fan of *In These Times* for years and felt it necessary to answer these charges at length. Had someone from the paper called to check the allegations, we could have saved everyone a lot of trouble, including Jim Sleeper, who once again has shot himself in the foot. ■ David Schneiderman is editor of the *Village Voice*.

## Displaced grudge refuted

By Paul A. Du Brul

THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN more in sorrow than anger: For several years now, Jim Sleeper has been conducting a vendetta against Jack Newfield, the *Village Voice* and several *Voice* writers. Now Sleeper has used an "analysis" of the current New York mayoral shambles to carry his grudge into the pages of *In These Times* (ITT, March 20). Unfortunately, the sound points he makes are so encrusted with character-assault that even the most initiated readers may go away scratching their heads.

I have no intention of attempting a point-by-point "refutation" of Sleeper's piece. Illness and other priorities have kept me from the attention to the mayoral race that such an effort would demand. But I will touch on several items in his piece in which I was involved or of which I have direct knowledge.

First, a list of my personal biases—something Sleeper should have given us as self-anointed moral scourge. Jack Newfield and I have collaborated on various

projects for the last 26 years. More recently, we've written books and dozens of articles together. He is one of my best friends—as is Ruth Messinger. *Voice* writers Joe Conason and Wayne Barrett are cherished friends and colleagues. I currently hold an appointed post in the Cuomo administration.

Now to cases:

Item: Sleeper charges that Newfield "polices" the left for his friend Mario Cuomo and cites as the "best example" of that relationship an article at the beginning of 1984 entitled "Let's Settle for Mondale." Rationale? Devious Cuomo was secretly (later openly) backing sure-loser Mondale to pick up support of the Party establishment for his own presidential bid in 1988. Newfield willingly lent his typewriter to this nefarious scheme. Case closed. Except it never happened.

By late '83, I had become convinced that Mondale, despite his multiple drawbacks, presented the best hope for pulling together a traditional Democratic coalition of labor, women, minorities and seniors against Reagan. I lobbied Newfield and my friends in elective office for an early Mondale endorsement. Jack talked to sev-

eral other people as well, and was finally convinced to do the article in question after a long talk with Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA). Cuomo never asked for an article and hadn't even decided on a Mondale endorsement.

Item: Sleeper is so fascinated by the Cuomo-Newfield "alliance" that he is at pains to point out that Cuomo pays his debts to the Lion of the *Voice*. In 1983, Newfield backed innovative Hispanic educator Anthony Alvarado for schools chancellor over Mayor Koch's wimpish Deputy Mayor Robert Wagner Jr. and a lackluster black nominee, Thomas Minter.

With a broad wink, Sleeper notes that Cuomo's commissioner of education then "conveniently disqualified" Wagner, removing the major block to Alvarado's ascendancy. Another display of raw power!

Life in the real world was less exciting. State law requires certain minimum professional credentials to run the nation's single largest school system. Wagner didn't meet the minimum and could offer no compelling reason why these requirements should be waived. Cuomo's education commissioner simply enforced a law that had long been on the books.

Item: Alvarado was forced to resign soon after appointment, not on any educational failings, but because of questionable administrative actions in the East Harlem School District he formerly ran and



Joe Louis: My Life



## DIALOG

## Voice connoisseurs of personal anguish

By Jim Sleeper

**T**HESE LETTERS EXEMPLIFY the reaction to criticism that has cost the *Voice* a mature readership and the left a guide to political reality. My article (*JTT*, March 20) was the first I've ever published about the *Voice*. My account of the Schumer case, which David Schneiderman makes so much of, I showed to all of six people two years ago (I did not send it to the Court of Appeals). That's hardly "subjecting" *Voice* writers to my "fantasy life" or to a "vendetta"; the onslaught on the preceding pages comes closer to that definition.

• The real reason for these charges is that I had a falling-out with Newfield and colleagues after months of fruitless in-house protest over their ethical violations. Because my spouse had worked for Congressman Schumer, whom Newfield was hell-bent on destroying, I heard both sides of that story in unusual detail. Though I hold no brief for Schumer, I concluded

an effort to cover up his own bizarre financial transactions. This mess came to light only when the police broke into the apartment of an Alvarado employee after a shooting spree and found documents showing he had loaned the chancellor money over a period of years.

Yet Sleeper writes that Newfield should have investigated Alvarado and unveiled these "damning revelations" before the appointment. In other words, Newfield should have accomplished what the organized forces of three daily newspapers, six TV stations and hundreds of radio stations and weekly newspapers failed to do.

Item: Newfield helped Howard Golden become Democratic county leader of Brooklyn over Ed Koch's candidate, even though he (and I) called Golden a "terminal cynic" in our book *The Abuse of Power*. Golden in office has proven to be a better county leader for the Republicans than the Democrats. Right on all counts.

What Sleeper leaves out is that Newfield two weeks ago played Golden in a longish *Voice* piece on the need for revolution in the City Council. Jack's one redeeming characteristic is that not only can't he be bought, you can't even rent him long enough to make a difference.

Final item: Sleeper is outraged that Newfield has reversed his once favorable view of City Council President Carol Bellamy, although Sleeper himself charges she "inspires no one but feminist yuppies." Indeed, he says Newfield's unpublished comments have been so bad that progressive City Council member Ruth Messinger, a Bellamy backer, has stopped talking to Newfield.

Now I know very few serious left writers (even at Sleeper's *bête noir*, the *Village Voice*) who would have introduced this personal quarrel to score a point. I know absolutely no one who would have gone with a piece of corridor gossip and no attempt at verification with the individuals involved. Yet this is what Sleeper did—and, not surprisingly, he got it wrong. Newfield has stopped talking to Messinger, not *vice versa*. I have spent many hours on the phone with both parties trying to mend this epic quarrel. I hope it will be resolved before this appears in print.

If Sleeper couldn't get this simple fact straight, why should anyone credit his cosmic judgments on the future of minority politics, the failures of the left or the morality of his former colleagues? ■ **Paul A. Du Brul** is co-author with Jack Newfield of *The Abuse of Power*.

over some months that Newfield and Barrett were wrong in their charges and corrupt in their methods.

The "confidential source" I ultimately revealed was also an illegal source, one of several prosecutors who are Newfield's close personal friends and with whom he and his colleagues collaborate routinely in official investigations against targets the *Voice* writers select without reference to the law or any defensible political calculus.

If the Schumer case were the only instance of such conduct, I might fairly be accused of special pleading. But Wayne Barrett is now being sued by another *Voice* target, Bart Lawson, a former nursing home operator who has been acquitted of all charges against him. I hold no brief for Lawson, either, but he has charged Barrett, quite credibly on the basis of what I know, with participating in a state investigation, orchestrating *Voice* coverage through a deal with the prosecutor regarding the timing of the indictment and meeting with prosecution witnesses to plan their testimony. Forced to rise in the courtroom by the defense attorney, who asked a witness to identify him, Barrett never again showed up to "cover" the trial he stands accused of helping to stage.

• This is not "fantasy," but corruption, and it is in this context that David Schneiderman's unctuous efforts at damage control should be viewed. *Voice* writer Joe Conason, who wrote Schneiderman's letter, charges me with leafletting for Rep. Major Owens while I was writing about him in the *Voice* in 1982. Compare this with the visit Newfield and Conason made during the campaign to public relations mogul Howard Rubenstein to alert his client, the *New York Post*, to the fact that Owens' rival had support from the New Alliance Party, a left splinter group that also supports the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

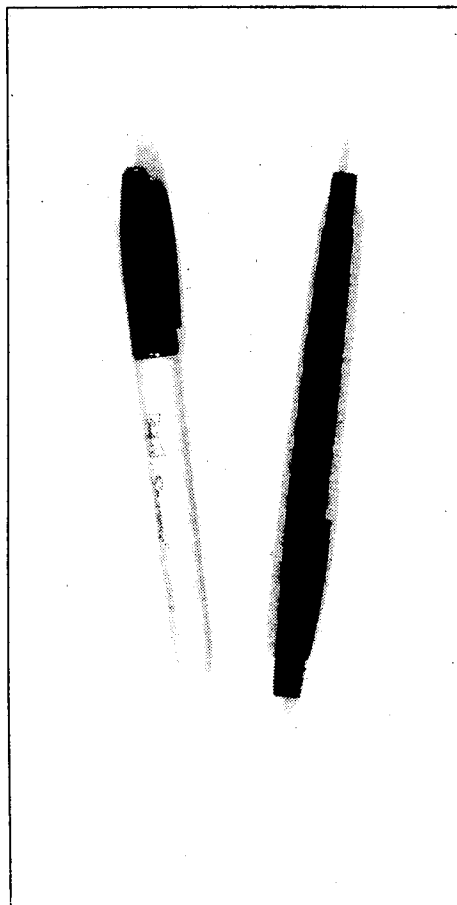
As a result, the *Post* played up Owens' opponent's ties to the PLO for the enlightenment of its conservative Jewish readership, which made up almost 25 percent of the vote in Owens' congressional district. In addition, Barrett, who had been on Owens' state senate payroll, helped distribute a leaflet based on the *Post* story. As for my role in that election, the *Voice* published a note congratulating me for it.

I challenged this climate in an in-house memo following the election. If I was "expelled" for anything (I've never been employed at the *Voice* or had a contract there), it was for writing that memo and later blowing the whistle on the Schumer case. After that, Schneiderman "no longer trusted" me to keep the kinds of secrets that should have led him to expel his actual employees many times over. That is the heart of the matter.

• The *Voice* letters even contradict one another. Newfield says I was "expelled" for working for a politician. Schneiderman says he didn't learn about that alleged offense until after I'd already left the *Voice*. Both are lying. And Schneiderman knew that Owens asked my spouse to help set up his new office after the election, because Schneiderman cited that to me in rejecting a story proposal about a day care center sponsored by Owens that was under investigation by the city. "Well, you can't write it," he said, pointing to my spouse's affiliation. I agreed. Ironically, Barrett, who was also under investigation as a member of the center's board, wrote portions of the *Voice*'s editorial on the subject.

• These letters bear a marked resemblance to a 4,000-word character assassination the *Voice* published last sum-

mer against *Daily News* columnist Ken Auletta, another former *Voice* writer who took the trouble to tell the truth. On May 6, 1984, Auletta shredded months of Newfield's published denials that he'd ever had any interest or involvement in



the Schumer case simply by quoting Cuomo: "Newfield was interested. Absolutely," the governor said, acknowledging that Newfield had called and lobbied him to appoint a special prosecutor to go after Schumer when other efforts were failing.

The *Voice*'s massive retaliation against Auletta—it even dredged up some business allegations about his father—neglected even to mention Auletta's report of abuse of the "Cuomo connection." It offered instead a convoluted denial—also now discredited—that Newfield had been a self-described emissary of the governor for Howard Golden.

• One more point about integrity. Unlike Newfield and colleagues, I've never been employed by a news organization; my pieces are usually billed as opinion pieces, based in my own experience as well as reportage. I always inform editors of relevant present or past relationships, and I follow their suggestions about what seems appropriate to mention in that regard. Obviously, Schneiderman doesn't burden his regular writers with that standard.

### **Voice "even-handedness."**

"What Sleeper leaves out is that Newfield two weeks ago played Golden..." Du Brul writes. Yes, and a week before that, Newfield's hero Al Vann decided to oppose Golden for borough president, in what Newfield promptly dubbed "the most important race in the city." Only then, after a year of virtual silence, did the flaying begin. Note that Schneiderman implicitly denies that Newfield worked for Golden—he'd have had to expel Newfield for that—yet Du Brul admits the role.

• That episode makes a larger point: in politics, where today's friend is tomorrow's enemy, a piece's *timing* tells the story. The context, including activity off the printed page, is as important as the content of Schneiderman's isolated citations. Let me quote Ronald Reagan's speeches, and I'll show you that he's a friend to blacks and a foe of injustice everywhere. That's how Schneiderman's citations of Barrett and others on Golden, Alvarado and the presidential and mayoral

elections read to anyone who knows the truth about the context. For example, the *Voice*'s pro-Jackson stories were token and weak; stronger pieces were rejected. James Ridgeway's criticisms of Mondale were outweighed by his cover stories on Jackson's "sleaze." Barrett's "Gloom and Doom" piece didn't explain why Newfield was twisting arms for "Gloom" Golden, who got the better of the piece. Barrett wasn't just following up leads on Farrell; Newfield was calling all over town soliciting them. The *Voice*'s superficial pluralism too often camouflages serious omissions, double standards and off-the-page coercion.

• Newfield and Du Brul bluff to minimize the Cuomo connection. Newfield talked long and hard with Cuomo about Mondale, as Newfield has told others and Du Brul is careful not to deny. I never said Cuomo had to ask for a piece, though months earlier he called Newfield at home to ask the *Voice* to work up some dirt on Lola Lea, the state investigations commissioner he wanted to remove. The *Voice* obliged for three weeks running, Barrett citing the governor's call to explain to writers why their scheduled pieces were pulled.

Cuomo and Newfield make a show of their differences—Westway is always trotted out—but the relationship is more complicated, and compromised. I did acknowledge in my piece, however, that other *Voice* writers, including Barrett, have criticized Cuomo forthrightly.

• Regarding Alvarado, surely Du Brul doesn't mean to imply that Newfield didn't lobby Cuomo to get Koch's choice for city schools chancellor vetoed instead of waived; here Newfield's own careless boasting does him in. And Newfield should have known something was wrong with his "find," whom he certified to the city in his 1983 "honor roll" shortly before the chancellorship selection process began, because he knew Alvarado was disturbingly close to East Harlem poverticians the *Voice* had long denounced, and that Alvarado had assigned district board of education personnel the re-election campaign of one of them, Council Member Bobby Rodriguez. Newfield and Barrett have tried to send better men to jail for less.

And how might Du Brul and Newfield explain the latter's recruitment of his friends, former Abscam prosecutor Tom Puccio and public relations consultant Mortimer Matz to represent Alvarado and craft him a parachute long after the charges against him had passed the *Voice*'s normally low threshold for damnation? Newfield didn't just ask Alvarado to resign. *New York* magazine found his role worth remarking, and the *New York Times* reported his call to Hunter College President Donna Shalala to ask her to find Alvarado another job.

### **Final thoughts.**

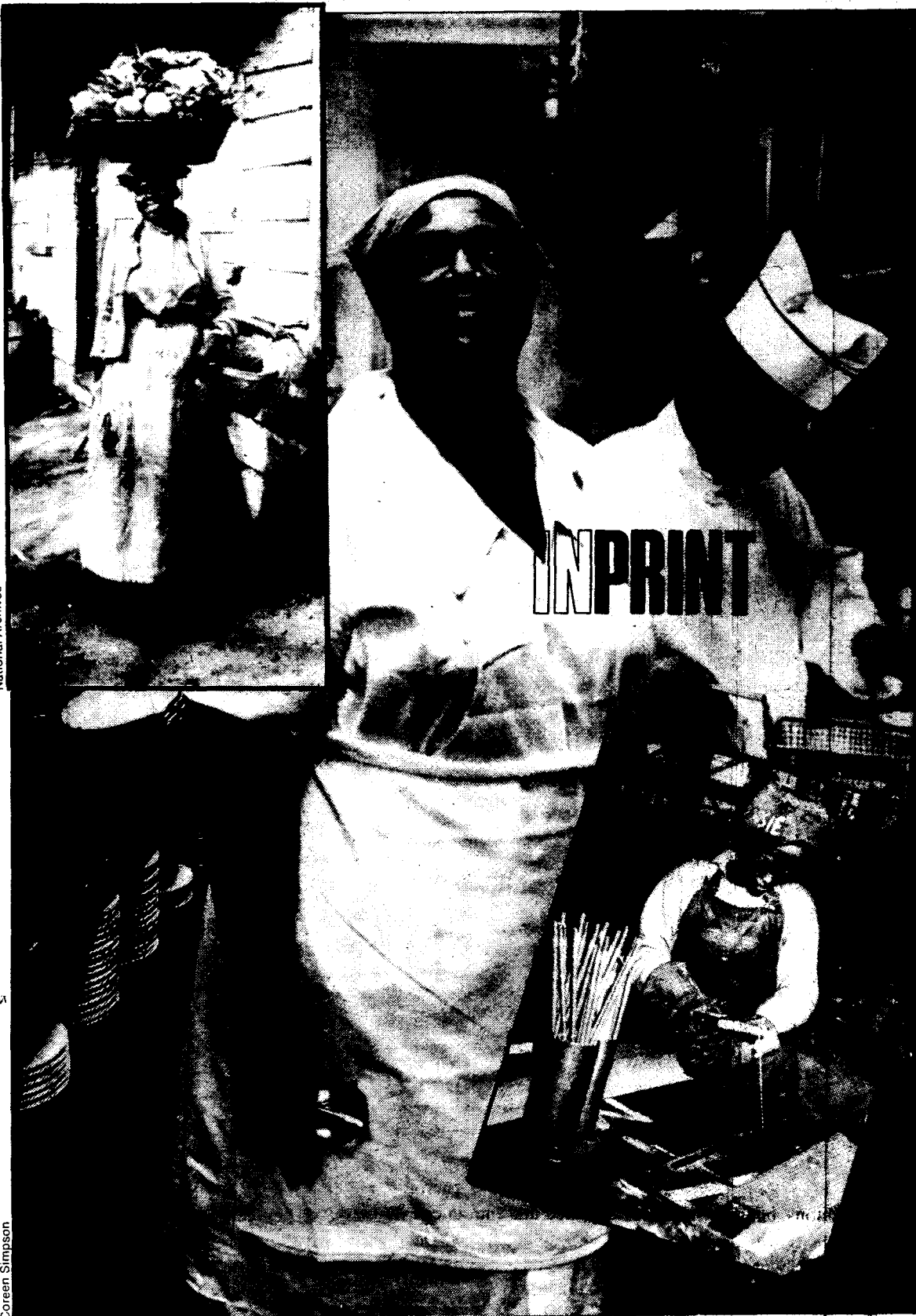
My *In These Times* piece was written in honest exasperation. I said explicitly that I'd had my battles with the *Voice* yet hoped to see it improve.

The sad truth is that Newfield and colleagues try to stigmatize opponents and critics, using fraud, intimidation, innuendo and blatant double standards, on and off the printed page. They think nothing of calling up people's employers and threatening them with bad publicity if their targets aren't fired. (Schneiderman apologized to my spouse for one instance of this, but there have been others, and she is not alone.) Connoisseurs of personal anguish, they often attack their targets' spouses, parents and even children in print on irrelevant matters. And they collaborate illegally with prosecutor-friends to punish their "enemies" for offenses their "heroes" also commit.

Newfield and his colleagues are capable of much better. But they are unchecked and they have abused their power. ■

In These Times Graphic





**Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow**  
Black Women, Work and the  
Family from Slavery to  
the Present

By Jacqueline Jones  
Basic Books, 432 pp., \$25.95

**When and Where I Enter...The  
Impact of Black Women on  
Race and Sex in America**

By Paula Giddings  
William Morrow, 408 pp., \$15.95

By Dorothy Sterling

UNTIL RECENTLY, BLACK history has meant male history while the feminist historians have concerned themselves almost exclusively with white women. But the black woman, perhaps the shadowiest figure of the American past, is coming into view at last with the publication of several excellent books on her history and potential.

Paula Giddings' popularly written and well-researched *When and Where I Enter* briefly summarizes the lives of black women during slavery and Reconstruction, then examines in detail the activities of black spokeswomen from the 1880s to the civil rights and feminist movements. Her anecdotal account of the activities of Ida B. Wells, leader of the fight against lynching in the 1890s, Mary McLeod Bethune, the doughty warrior of FDR's Black Cabinet, as well as such contemporary women as Rosa Parks of Montgomery, Ella Baker of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and SNCC and Shirley Chisholm is based on letters, interviews and a variety of

*Chef Velma James in NYC, 1976 (background), welder-trainee in Calif. shipyards, 1943, vegetable peddlers in S. Carolina, 1900*

## BLACK WOMEN

# From slavery to freedom

secondary sources.

*When and Where I Enter* frankly addresses the dilemma that black feminists face. On the one hand, black men charge that they are domineering and "unfeminine," and on the other, white women are insensitive to their needs and often downright racist. In the final chapter, "Outlook," Giddings concludes that black men, with black women helping, must redefine their concept of manhood, while white feminists must come to see that coalition with blacks can be mutually beneficial.

*Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow* covers the same span of years as Giddings' book does, but Jacqueline Jones, professor of history at Wellesley College, has chosen largely to ignore the records of notable women in favor of a comprehensive study of black working women and their families—a seemingly impossible task, because these anonymous toilers left few written records. Nevertheless, Jones has succeeded splendidly in her evocation of their lives and their changing place in American society. With persistence and in-

genuity, she has culled the rich oral history of slavery, the voluminous records of the Freedmen's Bureau, the observations of whites, friendly and hostile, and the personal recollections of descendants. She portrays the women, slave and newly free, who worked up to 14 hours a day digging ditches in South Carolina's rice fields, harvesting sugar cane in Louisiana, planting and picking cotton, hoeing tobacco, threshing wheat and then returning to cheerless cabins to cook, sew and wash for their families.

With a sharp ear for folk speech, Jones quotes individual women wherever possible, but she backs up the personal narratives with a careful examination of census figures, analyses of Freedmen's Bureau and later records, as well as summaries of past scholarly work. This is history at its best, deeply felt—for she makes no secret of her sympathy with the women—but with a solid statistical basis underlying each conclusion.

Following black women and their families from slavery to free-

dom, Jones describes their lives as sharecroppers. Rejecting the gang labor of the antebellum plantation, husbands, wives, children, kin worked side by side for a common goal, able for the first time to set their own priorities. In fall and winter when there was little farming to be done, husband or wife might leave home for paid employment—the women hiring out as laundresses, the men felling trees and building roads. Along the coast, the men gathered oysters and the women shucked them, or worked in a seafood processing plant.

This was no Moynihan matriarchy. The family was an economic unit with the husband in charge of finances and the wife domestic chores, although she always carried a double burden.

The life of the sharecropper-housewife was far from idyllic. Her primitive cabin was little better than the home she had known in slavery. She still had to chop wood before cooking over an open

*Their history is hard to trace because there are few written records.*

fire, tote water for washing, struggle to maintain order in cramped, badly ventilated quarters. Jones' observation that her "standard of living was considerably lower than that of midcentury western pioneer families" puts her into a historical framework.

Not was there much hope for improvement. Black families' dreams of owning their own land faded as year after year found them deeper in debt to their landlords. In an industrial, urbanizing nation, they remained outside the mainstream. Although the women planted and picked cotton, they rarely saw a new cotton dress. In an agricultural area, they subsisted on meagre, protein-poor diets.

In the balance of the book, Jones traces the progress (or lack of it) of the women as they slowly migrated to Southern cities and then, during World War I, to the North. If one were to plot their earnings on a graph, the line would be horizontal for 100 years, except for short crests during times of war and a downward plunge in the Great Depression.

By the beginning of the 20th century, native white women had established their right to clerical and sales jobs while immigrant women worked in factories. These occupations were barred to blacks. For black women there was twice as high infant mortality rates as white women, and half their pay.

Not until the civil rights movement of the '60s—when black women played leading roles—were there significant changes. With the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, black women, after a century of freedom, entered the pink-collar ghettos of their white sisters.

A decade later, black women's paths moved upward—and down. While the earnings of the well-educated approached that of white women, poor blacks were becoming poorer. With black male joblessness double that of whites, and astronomically higher for teenagers and during periods of recess-

sion, the number of female-headed households soared. Seventeen percent of black households were headed by women in 1950; 40 percent in 1980. Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) caseloads went from \$3 million in 1960 to \$11.4 million 15 years later.

It is hard to summarize in a short review all of the important themes developed in this admirable book. Accounts of black women's devotion and sacrifice for their children and their efforts at community self-help ("holding back the ocean with a broom") come as no surprise. But two other points are striking. One is the less than sisterly role of white women, from the plantation mistress who overworked, underfed and beat her slaves, to the Northern housewife during the Depression who hired a day-worker from a street-corner "slave mart" for wages of 10 cents an hour. The other was the role of the federal government in institutionalizing racism and sexism: the Freedmen's Bureau agent who ruled in favor of whites and set separate (lower) pay scales for women than men, the New Deal officeholder who doled out relief and Works Progress Administration (WPA) jobs with an uneven hand, the ADC program that encouraged husbands to "desert" their families.

In "Epilogue: 1984," Jones steps out of her role as historian to remind us that a half-century of stop-gap measures have failed to halt the widening distance between white and black, rich and poor. Unless radical solutions for unemployment, residential segregation, inequitable funding for education are found, a growing number of black families will be permanent wards of the state. Drawing on the experiences of the 1984 election campaign, she sees black women as a key element in two newly mobilized constituencies—black people and women—that could hold the balance of power in a two-party system. What is needed, she says, is a new moral vision and a new coalition to redefine national priorities. ■

*Dorothy Sterling is the editor of We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century.*

*Three generations: Elizabeth Stanton Blatch in 1892. Insert is*





## BIOGRAPHY

# A genuine American hero, except for her sex

**In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton**

By Elisabeth Griffith

Oxford University Press, 320 pp., \$17.95

By Ellen Carol DuBois

ONE OF THE WAYS WE will be able to tell that women are being integrated into American history is when Elizabeth Cady Stanton is as well known and widely appreciated as, say, Benjamin Franklin. Generally recognized as the founder of the American women's rights movement and the initial force behind the demand for political equality for women, Stanton spent over a half century identifying and attacking women's oppression. More of us are familiar with her political partner, Susan B. Anthony, who has come to represent the single-minded dedication that is necessary to keep feminism going. To this we should add that Stanton symbolizes the constantly expanding redefinition of women's freedom that makes feminism worth pursuing.

As a person, Stanton was terrifically vital and wonderfully un-Victorian. It is a sort of relief to come upon this 19th-century woman, who was neither neurasthenic nor sentimental nor ladylike. Her writing has the same qualities: it is lucid, outspoken and witty. Here is an individual who had everything necessary to make her a genuine American hero: profound historic significance, great intellectual breadth, sheer personal magnetism. Everything, that is, except the right sex.

In 1971 Schocken Books issued a paperback version of Stanton's

*Cady Stanton with granddaughter Nora and daughter Harriot Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, 1870.*

1898 autobiography, *Eighty Years and More*, and it has not gone out of print since. Now Elisabeth Griffith has given us a new life of Stanton, the first full-fledged biography of her in 45 years. This is a welcome event. *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* is comprehensive, readable and forges new ground. It will undoubtedly introduce Stanton to many people who never knew her until now. This is an old-fashioned kind of biography, long on personal details, short on historical setting or political and intellectual context. Indeed, Griffith starts right off declaring that her book is "unabashedly a 'great woman' biography." And there is no question that Stanton was "exceptional," that to strive to make her representative of the masses, even of middle-class women, would distort both her life and theirs. Even so, Griffith's perspective on Stanton is so relentlessly individualist that it subtly distorts both Stanton's life and the vision of women's liberation to which she was dedicated.

## Personal independence.

The way Griffith sees Stanton's life is as a steady march toward personal independence—political, economic, intellectual and especially psychological. The crucial event of Elizabeth Cady's youth was her struggle against the religious authority of evangelical Christianity and the pressures on young girls to go through the ritual subordination of the conversion experience. Her marriage to abolitionist Henry Stanton began as romance but ended as disappointment. Griffith is not shy with her opinions either about the marriage or about Henry, who comes off as a political opportunist, a

loser and, above all, a bad provider.

While Elizabeth Stanton kept house and gave birth to their seven children, Henry was following the political action in Albany and Washington. And although Elizabeth was frustrated by her domestic isolation, the long periods of separation—Griffith astutely observes—probably helped keep their marriage going. By the time the Stantons stopped living together, in the late 1860s, Elizabeth had outgrown her dependence on her husband and on the marital role. Her father, who had long tried to impose on her his own conservative world view, ultimately conceded her political independence and, after disowning her several times, left her enough of an inheritance to insure her economic independence.

Griffith's theme of independence shapes her account of Stanton's political leadership, especially during the controversial Reconstruction years. Stanton's opposition to the 14th and 15th Amendments and her criticisms of the Republican Party lost her the following of many women's rights veterans and brought serious charges of racism down on the feminist movement. There is still a lively debate about the wisdom of these actions; but while Griffith sides with those who think Stanton was in error, her judgments do not reveal a deep understanding of the political forces swirling around Stanton, or even how she made her strategic calculations.

Griffith makes the strange suggestion that Stanton's "failure to secure woman suffrage after the war may reflect the weakness and inappropriateness of her role models as well as the political realities of the era." Ultimately Griffith regards the real importance of the postwar years not as political but as psychological: reconstruction political conflicts freed Stanton from a final constraint, her need for the approval of other feminists.

In the last few chapters of *In Her Own Right*, Stanton's pursuit

*This book will introduce people to Elizabeth Cady Stanton.*

of independence takes her beyond even the organized women's movement. Griffith's final portrait is of the aging, dignified Stanton, willing to advocate highly unpopular ideas—for instance about the role of Christianity in the subordination of women—because she was no longer dependent on what others thought of her.

## A linear story.

Although the first half of the book is engaging, Griffith's tale is repetitious. Stanton's life is portrayed as the story of one woman's ability to "get it together," which is too linear a psychological story. The emphasis on Stanton's indi-

vidual development distorts her relationship to other people, who appear, in Griffith's account, only as "role models" for the kind of autonomous life Stanton is striving to lead. This is especially true with respect to Susan B. Anthony.

Griffith demonstrates that Stanton and Anthony disagreed politically far more than the legend of their comradeship would have it, but she never grasps what held them together. Stanton's relationship with Anthony comes off worse—a sort of 50-year power struggle—than her marriage. What united Stanton and Anthony, despite considerable political disagreement, was their shared dedication to women's emancipation, which they first came to know through each other, and their common belief that their lives and efforts were part of a larger women's movement.

Stanton's relationship to the women's movement in general is also given short shrift. Although Stanton disagreed with the majority of suffragists in the 1880s and 1890s, feminism remained her movement, and she continued to struggle within it to broaden its vision and alter its politics.

Most importantly, *In Her Own Right* does not fully represent the feminism in which Stanton herself believed. Stanton's historic significance rests precisely on her recognition that women's freedom

had to be won collectively—and that what had to be changed were the structures of society, especially its laws. *In Her Own Right* substitutes a more simplistic vision of women's freedom, and misidentifies Stanton with it. "Women were placed in a subordinate position by custom and circumstance" and women acquiesced in their subordination, Griffith concludes about Stanton's contribution to the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights convention. "But not Elizabeth Cady Stanton."

This is an insufficient appreciation of the woman who turned feminism from an intellectual tradition into a political movement. Stanton above all understood that subordination was not simply a matter of custom and circumstance, that the solution could not be an individual act of assertion, that the oppression of women was not voluntary. Stanton built her life around the conviction that the extension and protection of women's freedom required ceaseless political struggle. We should take care not to reduce what she can teach us to anything less than that.

Ellen Carol DuBois is the editor of *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings and Speeches* and teaches history at SUNY College in Buffalo, N.Y.

## One woman's story

**I, Rigoberta Menchú**

Edited and introduced by

Elisabeth Burgos-Debray

Translated by Ann Wright

Verso/Schocken, 200 pp., \$8.95

By Pat Aufderheide

RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ IS one of the few surviving members of a Guatemalan Indian family that has paid a blood price to plantation owners, to corrupt government officials and to the military. This is her story, told over the course of a week in simple but eloquent Spanish—the elite language of Guatemala that she learned in self-defense. Her life has great drama, but she tells it only because she perceives it to be exemplary, its anguish the tragedy of half Guatemala's population: the Indians.

In her family's struggles to survive are the hideously cruel terms of seasonal work for whole families on plantations, and the degrading, mind-starving service work of the cities. In their resistance is the recent history of Indian organizing to keep ancient land titles and rights, and to win minimal decencies in plantation work. And in her quietly recounted horror stories of death and mutilation is the escalating brutality of recent Guatemalan governments, making painfully personal the charge of genocide against the Indian population.

The most powerful theme of this work, however, is not horror but survival, and, more than that, a sense of living community. She begins her testimony with descriptions of traditional rituals surrounding pregnancy and birth. She continues throughout the book to describe, in general terms, the network of customs that Indians over four centuries of occupation have

seen as their most powerful source of strength—so much so that much of what Menchú knows she is not permitted to share with outsiders.

The thriving culture she describes is far from static traditionalism; Menchú's own village self-consciously and communally adapts ancient customs around the challenge of fighting a guerrilla war against the military. Her description argues that military offenses have created this response, and that Indians and guerrillas—many of whom see Indian culture as an obstacle to their proletarian revolution—are distinct.

Menchú is a remarkable leader, with a keen strategic and political sense, who learned from her father, a hero (and now, martyr) of Indian politics in Guatemala. Those who saw the documentary *When the Mountains Tremble* will recall her assertive, cool presence as much as her testimony. But her claim to be a typical Indian, politicized through confrontation, is the canny simplification of a sophisticated politician. Menchú argues this position as someone who is shaping a movement of pan-Indian resistance, in a moment when opposition to the Guatemalan military is highly fragmented.

But there is no doubt, given not only this testimony but the headlines in the daily papers, that the historical process that shaped her is also shaping the terms of politics tomorrow. The government's frontal assault on Indian communities as communities is turning the Indians' tool of survival—their own autonomous culture—into a weapon. How that weapon will be used in a struggle that includes non-Indians is the subject of intense conflict within resistance forces today.

©Pat Aufderheide









## MUSIC TECHNOLOGY

studios, there is less music to be copied. Johnny Knapp has been a copyist for 36 years, most recently at Music Preparation International, a major copying house. Knapp reports that their staff is half the size it once was.

### The sound that sells.

Synthesized music is undoubtedly popular; listen to any pop or rock radio station. Some commercial music arrangers claim they employ synthesizers for the sound, not the cost.

"Recently on a Sony ad we used primarily synthesizers and very few musicians because we wanted that 'outer space' feeling that tells you the product is state of the art," says Billy Davis, the director of music for the McCann-Erikson ad agency of New York. "Staying contemporary, you're forced to use a synthesizer if that's what the market wants to hear." He points out that drums and violins have

the Kurzweil 250:

"Let's say a composer wants to hear an eight bar passage. He can hear it immediately, without going through all the time of hiring copyists and an orchestra; the creative process is freed up. For live improvisation, the Kurzweil gives a musician like Lyle Mays an incredible palette of colors, orchestral and melodic, one that can be called up at the touch of a button, without preconceiving the exact order of the sounds, as on previous synthesizers. You have 100 sounds available to you for live performance, whole timbral landscapes can be created by one improviser in a band."

Glaser feels that in 50 years there will be far less ensemble playing—live or recorded—because of synthesizers. "Music will increasingly become a solo mechanical function. The excitement of music as we know it is bound to suffer, and the hell of it is

## Synthesized keys stir real fears

But broadly commercial forms of music, such as rock and pop, thrive on novelties that often have little to do with techniques of individual musicians. Of all the people who listen to Tina Turner, Kenny Rogers or Billy Joel, few look to see who the accompanying musicians are, let alone how many there are. For this reason, rock and pop have been the musical forms most open to technological innovations, incorporating the "outer space" feel of synthesizers, often with a futuristic funk sound that has the tenor of a faceless industrial society. The very idea of this society has been parodied by Laurie Anderson, the avant-garde performance artist who wires her violin to a synthesizer and projects slides of simple grids that could be computer panels or endless, anonymous city blocks.

But in music less dependent on novelty and massive celebrity, synthesizers do not enter so easily. It is hard to imagine computers figuring importantly in bluegrass or blues, where regional and historical features continue to define the music. Folk and classical are also anchored in the history of particular instruments and styles, and performance is still central to both. Even liner notes for records are usually specific about which musician did what, and when and where the record was made. In jazz, Chick Corea, Lyle Mays, Herbie Hancock and others have added synthesizers to the familiar ensemble form, rather than substituting it for an essential feature of the music: group improvisation.

### Shrinking talent pool?

Electronics have been altering the world of working musicians since

recording began. "I remember when I first came to New York 40 years ago, every major radio station had a staff orchestra," says Walt Levinsky. "Then all of a sudden they got disc jockeys and records." Bob Rosengarten is a jazz drummer who once led the ABC staff orchestra. "When I started at NBC in 1947, there were staff orchestras all over New York City and all over the United States.

"You'd do a show at 8:00 in New York City and do another show at 11:00 for the people in California. Then they cut out these orchestras because they could tape everything. The only live musicians in New York television now are on David Letterman." Many older musicians say live music is so sparse today their children consider it a novelty.

Glaser feels that as jobs vanish, we are losing both talent and future musical innovation because musicians can't make a living. "There's an adage: it takes a thousand journeymen to make one genius. In order to get really high quality artists, there has to be avenues for them to work. We may have already lost geniuses who drifted away from our profession because job opportunities are gone."

What can the union do? The current TV and Radio Commercial Announcements agreement says that synthesizers can be used to complement recording musicians, but not to replace them. This has been very hard to enforce, however. Only 28 percent of the ad agencies in New York are signatories, for instance. Even though most payment companies used by the agencies are signatories, there are over 500 studios in New York alone, and monitor-

ing has not been effective.

Another rule says the musician operating a synthesizer must be paid double scale for a session (scale is \$70 per hour plus 10 percent for pension and \$5 for the health and welfare fund), and for every additional track he overdubs he must be paid a minimum of \$70. But, as one musician said, what difference does doubling the scale make when one musician is getting paid and 10 others are without work?

The current agreement with commercial recorders expires in April, and the possibility has been discussed of establishing a minimum required number of musicians for recording sessions. Until now, the union has not been strong enough to make such a demand. There are 270,000 members nationwide in dozens of self-ruled locals, and the faith of many musicians in the union is weak, given a history spotted with entrenched and ineffective leaders, though in New York a recent turnover in leadership stopped a long drop in membership there.

Veteran drummer Bob Rosengarten feels little hope the current electronic trend can be stopped. "We're asking the union to do something it can't do. Musicians are trying to do now what the carriage makers were doing to the automobile. Synthesizers are here and they're getting better and cheaper.

"You ever see a movie called *Things to Come*? It was an H.G. Wells picture, English, with Ralph Richardson. It's about a huge world war and some super weapon destroys all of civilization. And one group almost goes back to being cannibals because science did this to us and we want to go backwards.

"Of course, you can't do that," Rosengarten concludes. "You can want to, but you can't do it; it's kind of sad. So go see that movie."

David O. Russell, a Washington, D.C., writer, is completing a profile of jazz musician Eddie Bert.

*The current agreement says that synthesizers can be used to complement musicians, but not to replace them.*



suffered most with McCann-Erikson accounts, which include Coca-Cola, AT&T and AlkaSeltzer. Smith uses a Lyndrum 9000 regularly and admits to using synthesizers predominantly on more than 25 percent of his music because it's faster and easier.

Davis loves the musical tones an emulator makes and he's not alone. Stevie Wonder commissioned the Kurzweil 250; Lyle Mays of the Pat Metheny group uses one, as do musicians for Dolly Parton, Chuck Mangione and Alabama. David Mash, who specializes in electronic music at Boston's Berkeley School, describes the musical advantages of

neither you nor I nor anybody else will know what we're missing—because what isn't here can't be missed."

Initially this may be true, Mash concedes, but he believes that "when the pendulum reaches the extreme of one-man bands, it'll swing back to ensembles, perhaps of several synthesizers playing together. "Nothing can replace the excitement of musicians interacting, personality versus personality. The fact is that society is so huge and people find themselves lost in the masses, so they look for a unique sensibility, which is one of the charms of the synthesizer."



# Brass

Continued from page 13

a wage cut and receive equity in the company equal to their losses. But what is the good of equity in a company that is already worthless?

Perhaps the Scovill brass mills could not—or should not—have been saved. After all, even in a socialist economy, changes in technology and social need make some facilities obsolete. And even from the workers' point of view, aging factories, often with substandard health and working conditions, may be better phased out than perpetuated.

In one sense, Century's management may have been on the right track when it decided to milk the company's assets rather than reinvest them to keep it a going enterprise. Perhaps there was no chance for the company to survive in the long run, and it could continue in the short term only by reducing its workforce year after year, running down its assets and closing each line of production as it became too deteriorated or obsolete to compete.

But are the only alternatives maintaining such companies as profitable enterprises or shutting them down? UAW representative Richard Cardinal spoke of Century Brass as an "industrial hospice," a company doomed to die. Why not take the "industrial hospice" idea seriously? Why not assume that certain companies are indeed doomed to die, but try—hospice style—to make that passing as easy as possible for the workers and communities affected.

In Century's case, the original government loan for purchasing the company could have been made conditional on meeting specified public policy objectives. It could have provided for a planned gradual scaling down of the company and specified that older workers be kept on until retirement, that the profits milked from the shrinking company be reinvested in local job-providing enterprises and that younger

Century workers be retrained for the jobs thus created. Worker and/or community control of such a company might have a valuable role to play if the enterprise was treated from the start not as a sucker's investment but as an industrial hospice.

Even after a decade of milking, it may still be possible to save parts of Century Brass through such an approach. Various forces appear to be converging in an effort to keep the non-brass segments of the company open.

A few days after announcing it would close, Century filed for protection from its creditors under Chapter 11 of the bankruptcy law, maintaining that the general products and ordinance divisions of the company were still profitable. The UAW, using the Naugatuck Valley Project as an intermediary, asked to purchase the entire company. Century officials said they were not interested at the time. Waterbury Mayor Edward Bergin offered to seek a deferment of \$2.5 million in tax liabilities to keep Century open. Along with State Rep. William Scully, he is seeking public disclosure of all Century Brass finances.

The recognition that Century was created by public funding, and therefore has special responsibilities to the public, seems to be catching on. Edward Stockton, who was state economic development commissioner when Connecticut guaranteed the loan with which Century was started, says, "I don't think Charles Rubenstein or the president of the union have got the right to close the doors of Century Brass."

But if still more public money is to be used to keep those doors open the question will be: should it simply be handed out to those who have already run the company into the ground or should ways be found to assure that the company hereafter is run for the benefit of its workers, the local community and the general public?

**Jeremy Brecher is author of Brass Valley: The Story of Working People's Lives and Struggles in an American Industrial Region. He was historical coordinator for the Brass Workers History Project, which col-**

lected and recorded the history of workers in Connecticut's Naugatuck Valley with the help of workers and other community members. He recently helped produce a movie, *Brass Valley*, which deals with Century Brass.

# Baseball

Continued from page 24

There may be food shortages in Nicaragua, but not at the ballpark. Indian women in flower print dresses work the crowd, their sing-song voices calling attention to a panoply of tastes. Some sell soda, poured into a knotted plastic bag with a chunk of ice from which the buyer carefully sips. Oranges, *pan dulce*, donuts and fried plantains with *salsa picañte* compete with grilled sausages and *quesillos*, a mix of cheese, cream, onions and chilis inside a corn tortilla.

On the dugout sits a young Sandinista soldier, her rifle across her knees. Between innings, she flirts with the ballplayers and chats with the fans. Her presence and that of her comrades-in-arms are unnecessary that night. A shot sounds in the top of the sixth, but the largely Indian crowd hardly notices, absorbed in the contest pitting one mostly black team against another mostly white one. The ballpark seems as cheerful a place as can be found in Nicaragua these days. Walter, the *taxista*, later concurs: "Nicaragua has much sadness, but baseball is our happiness. Sometimes, it is even more important than politics."

## Roberto Clemente, a national hero.

It's fitting that Costa Atlantica, the league's blackest team, makes Masaya its home field for Masaya is virtually a living monument to the greatest black Latin ballplayer of recent decades, Roberto Clemente. They remember Clemente more in sleepy Masaya than they do in Pittsburgh (where he played for the Pirates) these days.

Every *chico* playing stickball on one of Masaya's cobblestone streets can rattle off

at least a few of Clemente's stats. But they recall Roberto in Masaya, and throughout Nicaragua, not so much for the verve with which he played but for the manner in which he died.

On Dec. 23, 1972, a massive earthquake struck Nicaragua, killing more than 10,000 people and devastating Managua. Thousands of survivors choked the Masaya-Managua road. Clemente threw himself into relief efforts, working 16-hour days to collect food, money and medicine. News soon filtered out of Managua that Somoza and his National Guard were plundering the supplies. "They pocketed 75 percent of it," according to Roberto Sanchez, sportswriter for *La Prensa*, the opposition daily. Furious, Clemente decided to fly there to personally oversee relief distribution.

He took off from San Juan the evening of Dec. 31, 1972, in an overloaded, ill-maintained DC-7. An engine exploded almost immediately after the flight was airborne and the pilot tried to turn back. He didn't make it. The plane plunged into the Caribbean. Clemente's body was never recovered.

But he was not forgotten, especially in Nicaragua. The stadium in Masaya was renamed for him and a block away the Clemente Foundation built a pediatrics clinic for "los niños de Masaya." A daily sports program bears his name and before a game in late December each year, fans throughout Nicaragua stand in silent tribute to the man Pittsburgh came to know as the Great One.

The U.S. Marines infected Nicaragua with baseball fever during their two decades of occupation and the Somoza family they left behind accepted the game's stewardship along with control of the country.

Somoza's National Guard backed a club, Cinco Estrellas, which usually fielded the best players. Its members often held military rank but most donned flannels more frequently than fatigues. Despite its prowess, Cinco Estrellas' link with the military

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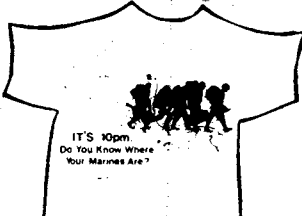
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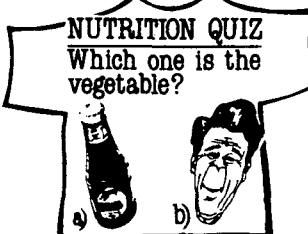
Einstein - "Imagination is more important than knowledge" white ink on black



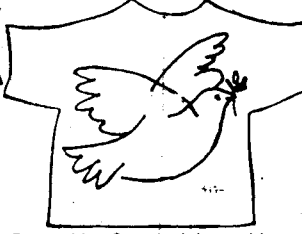
It's 10 pm... - tan/olive drab 50/50, or black, black on red



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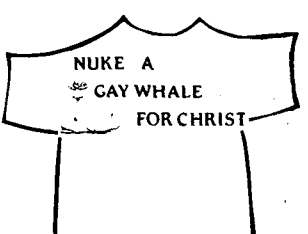
Career - black ink on red



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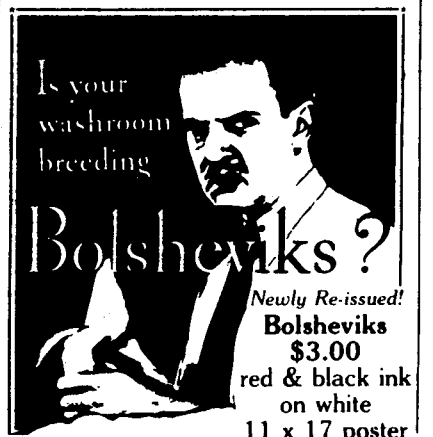


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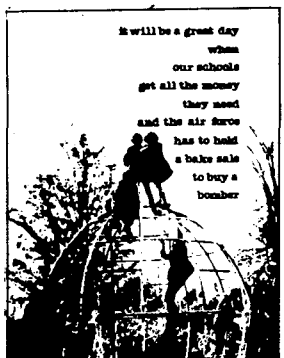


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denied it popularity. Boer, Managua's other team, had that. "It's still almost a religion to back Boer," according to Edgar Tijerino, sports editor for *Barricada*, the Sandinista paper.

### Sandinistas criticize pro ball.

Nicaragua's 11-year fling with pro ball ended in 1967, but fans speak of Willie Mays, George "El Boomer" Scott and Maravillosa Marv Throneberry as if they had wintered there last year. A semi-pro league, re-formed during the 1970s, has continued with some changes since the revolution. Teams represent either regions, sugar mills or organizations like the military. Stipends depend on performance and while the players, considered amateurs,

usually have jobs, some observers, like *La Prensa's* Sanchez, wonder just how often they show up for work.

While the Sandinistas criticize pro ball, they cater to the Nicaraguan appetite for baseball, sponsoring the national circuit as well as layers of sandlot leagues. The top league, the military's team and the baseball itself are all named Dantos, the *nom-de-guerre* of Comandante Germán Pomares Ordóñez. Dantos was a ball-playing revolutionary who led the daring 1974 "Christmas party" assault but died during the insurrection.

The government wants to develop a national team of Cuba's calibre. But while most Nicaraguans ardently back their national squad, baseball's promised land for them remains the major leagues.

Major league ball's greatest fan in Nicaragua might be *Barricada* sports editor Edgar Tijerino. In an office jammed with stacks of the *Sporting News* and festooned with photos of Sandino and David Green, Tijerino evaluates possible pro prospects. "The quality of play," he admits, "has dropped since the revolution," due to the lack of quality coaching. "What we need is a Charley Lau or a Hup Kittle."

When asked if his country's fascination with major league ball conflicts with its revolutionary bearings, Tijerino answers: "Como no! No hay contradicción." Minister of the Interior Tomas Borge addressed the same question when the Nicaraguan team returned from the Pan-Am Games. "Our favorite sport might be anti-imperialism, but we also love baseball."

A hundred kilometers to the north, Julio Medina fields one ground ball after another in the shadow of Momotombo, the volcano that destroyed the original city of Leon in 1609. In October, at the world amateur games in Havana, Medina's homerun beat Japan to extract a small measure of revenge for their Olympic debacle. Nicaragua exploded in joy when the radio announcer called Medina's ball gone.

Wisps of smoke from Momotombo's cone suggest that another volcanic eruption may not be far off. Nicaragua seems that way, too, but between upheavals, and even during them, they play *béisbol* here. ■

**Rob Ruck teaches history at Chatham College in Pittsburgh and writes often on winter baseball.**

## CALENDAR

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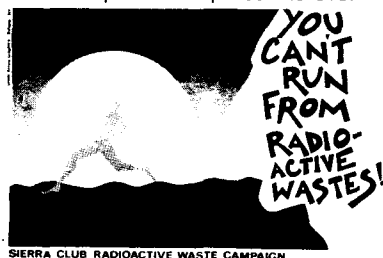


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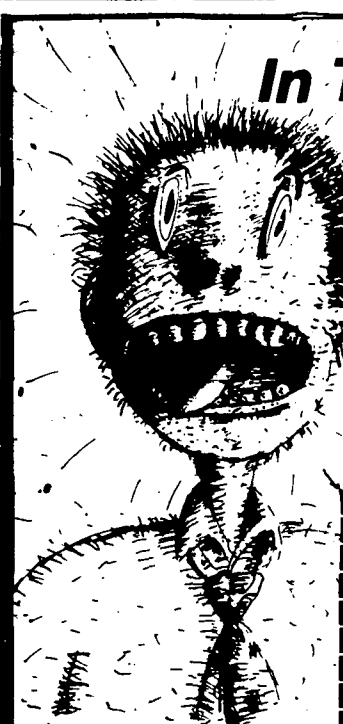
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**S**IX YEARS AGO, JULIO MEDINA RAN through the streets of Leon tossing contact bombs at the Nicaraguan National Guard, his face hidden behind a red and black Sandinista bandana. Now he throws baseballs and carries a glove, defending second base for Nicaragua's national team. Within a few seasons, Medina might be plying his trade in the major leagues. And most Nicaraguans, whatever their political beliefs, would like to see this lithe 23-year-old make it.

Nicaragua is a country at war. *Campeños* pick coffee with AK47 rifles slung over their shoulders, while in the cities breadlines form before dawn. But it is a country that refuses to surrender its love affair with baseball.

"It is more than our sport," Comandante Carlos Nuñez stressed after the January reopening of the Managua stadium, unsafe since the 1972 earthquake. "It is our passion." Or as Walter, a taxi driver and sandlot manager, put it: "Baseball is in our bodies and in our hearts." It is perhaps one of the last aspects of life holding the Nicaraguan people together.

When Japan humiliated Nicaragua 19-2 in last August's Olympic competition, everybody in Managua was crushed, according to Roberto, another taxi driver. "That night," he claimed, gesturing northward to where guerrillas attempting to topple the Sandinistas operate, "even the *contras* cried."

As Julio Medina towed sweat from his wiry torso after a league victory in January, fathers brought their sons over to shake his hand. Joining Elias and Juan Carlos, two teenaged companions, Medina ran the gauntlet of well-wishers and vendors outside Leon's Stadium of the Heroes and Martyrs of September, escaping through the city's narrow colonial streets to a bar near the central square. Its patrons applauded Medina's entrance, and four men at a nearby table stood with their glasses of *Flor de Caña* rum and saluted Leon's captain in traditional fashion by downing their libations straight and shouting "Tome un strike!" "Take a strike!"

Julio, Juan Carlos and Elias eschewed rum for La Victoria beer, served with a tumbler of salt on the side and ice in their glasses to compensate for the national deficiency in refrigeration. As a 17-year-old, Julio joined the other *muchachos* in the September 1978 uprising led by the Sandinistas. His reasons were the standard litany of complaints about state-of-the-art dictator Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle: political repression, rigged elections and a desire for change. When the government suppressed the revolt, Medina went underground until he could cross into Costa Rica. Returning after Somoza's ouster in July 1979, Medina resumed his schooling in marine biology.

He also began playing for Leon, a member of the post-1979 Nicaraguan league. The 10-team circuit plays a 72-game season, followed by a four-team playoffs. After that, the top 50 players compete in the selection of a national team that represents the country in the Olympics and the world amateur games. Popularly regarded as the most complete ballplayer in the country, Medina has become a fixture at second base for the national squad.

#### Reminders of the revolution.

Fingering the cross around his neck, Medina explains that he refused an offer to sign with the Cincinnati Reds last year because he wanted to play for the Olympic team and finish school, which he completes in November. After that, he would like the chance to play pro ball.

His *compañeros*, Elias and Juan Carlos, laugh in anticipation of their friend in the majors. They, too, fought in the streets and then pursued baseball and school when the fighting subsided. Both study agronomy and both, ironically, suffered baseball-related injuries that have kept them out of the draft. But Elias and Juan Carlos prefer talking baseball and music to politics, a not uncommon occurrence in this war-weary nation, and conversation shifts to Reggie

# Sandinista Sandlots



Jackson, the Yankees and Bruce Springsteen.

Daily life is a constant reminder of the revolution for Medina and his teammates who gather the next day to take a bus to Masaya. Much of Leon, which Somoza's airforce bombed during the final weeks of the war, has never been rebuilt. A few kilometers south their bus passes Nagarote, where Juan Carlos' father died and Elias' brother suffered disabling wounds in an ambush by the Guard on July 19, 1979, just hours before Somoza fled to Miami.

The cratered two-lane blacktop slices through fields of cotton and past quiet farming villages where the *chicos* play on dirt streets with homemade balls and bats fashioned from pieces of cane. Trucks carrying troops to the front rattle by, dusting young women lugging bundles of firewood.

In Masaya, a town of 40,000, Leon's opponents are Costa Atlantica (CA). English-speaking youths from the Caribbean Coast, these ballplayers are mostly black with some Indian blood, the descendants of runaway slaves, West Indian laborers, British pirates and Miskito Indians.

Last spring, CA pushed Leon to the seventh game of the championship before succumbing. Leon, with its seven national squad players and its taxi-driving Olympic team skipper, Noel Areas, has won three of the five post-Somoza championships.

More than geography separates the *Costeños* from the majority of Nicaraguans, Spanish-speaking *mestizos* who live in the Pacific Coast lowlands. But the Costa Atlantica players look northward as much as Julio Medina when they ponder their sporting futures.

Davis Hodgson, their manager, rates Medina as the country's best prospect, but adds in a West Indian lilt, "He's got a problem. Julio is the best but he puts his studies in front of everything." Behind Medina, Hodgson places two of CA's young players, Erly Britton, a third baseman hitting .400 after a third of the season, and hurler Rafael Lacayo. "But they need training," he sighs, "that they cannot get here."

"Our favorite sport might be anti-imperialism, but we also love baseball."

Cuba provided some coaches during the 1982-83 season, but they left in the exodus of foreign advisers following the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Rafael Lacayo is slated to hurl against Leon that night but a bank of lights in right-field explodes during batting practice and Leon is unwilling to face the hard-throwing righty in sub-par illumination. "He's hard enough to hit in daylight," Medina mutters.

After an hour waiting for the electrician, the game is called. But a group of angry *fanáticos* attacks the Leon team bus, flattening tires and breaking windows and headlights. The players take shelter in the clubhouse until the crowd disperses.

Two nights later, the lights are on and the calypso sounds of La Dimension Costeña syncopate Costa Atlantica's warm-ups. Sitting on the dugout, the players banter in Caribbean patois but switch effortlessly to Spanish to berate an ump for a questionable call. When an opposing runner slides on his rump into first base, a player shouts, "He get ass-burn doing that!" In the bottom of the second, a small boy taps Rafael Lacayo on the shoulder and hands him a pie from La Pizza Alegria. His teammates wolf it down before the side is retired.

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